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#### ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Preface, p. 1, l. 5, for "airses" read "arises."

Page 14, 1. 33, for "Spiegelburg" read "Spiegelberg".

Page 16, l. 2, for "a tone" read "at one Page 36, l. 3, for "sexes" read "sexes\*".

Page 38, l. 5, for "Mahābahrata" read "Mahâbhârata".

Page 45, l. 3-4, for "accordingly consisted" read "which consisted".

Page 63, 1. 8, for "change of hetero-sexuality" read "change to hetero-sexuality".

Page 170, l. 31, for "up" read "upon".

Page 184, l. 23, for "men—who" read "men who".

Page 241, Note should read "Cf. Ward, Dynamic Sociology (1907) Vol. I. p. 643 and 640-663 ".

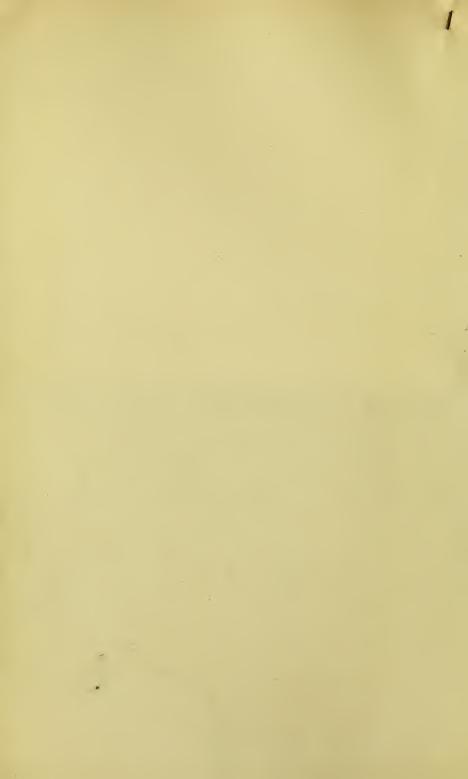
Page 250, l. 21, for "cote" read "côté".

Page 267, l. 19-20, read "Westermarck (E.A.) History of Human Marriage 1912. Origin and Development of Moral Ideas 1921'

Page 269, l. 4, for "which form" read "who form".
Page 276, l. 9, for "ports" read "parts".
Page 276, l. 11, for "transfer" read "transfer".

Page 281, l. 8, for "masculinity of femininity" read "masculinity or femininity."

Page 283, l. 20, for "strees" read "stress".





# SEX AND CIVILIZATION

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# SEX AND CIVILIZATION

BY

### PAUL BOUSFIELD

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## **PREFACE**

It is well-known that the present economic condition of women, who out-number the men in England alone by some two millions, is a poor one compared with that of men. To some extent, this is the result of prejudice and of legal disability. The question naturally airses: "Is this all? Supposing the prejudice and legal disability were completely swept away, would woman in general be able to take a place in the economic field in any way equal to that of man?"

The reply of a large number of people is that she would not; firstly on account of her physical disabilities, and secondly, on account of her temperamental disabilities.

On examination, however, it is found to be very doubtful whether her physical disabilities are nearly as great as are commonly supposed. The examination also reveals that her temperamental disabilities certainly stand very much in her way at the present time, but that with a different method of up-bringing, an altered set of ideals from childhood upwards, it might be possible that these would completely disappear. Research into the matter tends to show that her chief psychic disability is largely due to waste of energy, and, curiously enough, her excessive expenditure of energy is largely in the sexual field, although popular opinion is to the contrary. The chief psychic difference here between the man and woman is connected with the fact that the man largely concentrates his erotic energy on what may be termed the normal acts of sex (which occupy in a concentrated form a comparatively short period of time and a comparatively small amount of his psychic energy), while the woman's sexual activity on the other hand remains in an infantile form that is spread throughout her whole life in such a way as to occupy an immense amount of both her time and her energy. This, of course, is mainly due to the extra repression which social customs have for various reasons forced upon her from early childhood, and the lack of suitable non-erotic substitutes from the same cause. will be found on deeper investigation that though in fact we notice a vast difference between her present tastes,

ideals, etc., and those of the man, this to a very large extent is a purely artificial product, and one which can be usefully overcome by the proper application of the results of psychological research to the education of future generations.

Assuming that every individual has a certain amount of energy or capacity for work, the efficiency of the woman, who is in reality of equal capacity with the man, is considerably reduced by what we may term "the continual leakage of energy".

Another field in which we find a reduction of normal power in civilized women is in physical health and strength. There are many superstitions and ideas concerning this which are completely wrong, but which, added to the methods of up-bringing which they induce, produce a somewhat lowered idea in a large number of women of their own capabilities. It is the force of suggestion continually at work upon them from childhood which drives this home.

It is time to make an attempt to trace these so-called disabilities of women to their causes. Certainly in the present state of knowledge, it will be impossible to do this completely, but a beginning should be made, if only to indicate some widely prevalent errors on the subject.

In the hope of elucidating some of the main factors in this matter, I have written this book. Evidence from physiological, historical, and psychological sources is collected together, and their converging lines are demonstrated.

The work is not intended as a final statement of the subject, but rather as a suggestion of lines of further research to others who may follow.

There is a strong clash between primitive desires and our more advanced wishes for reform, as there is, indeed, in all progress, and it is this conflict which we have to meet in an impartial and courageous manner.

PAUL BOUSFIELD.

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## SEX AND CIVILIZATION

#### CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY, PREJUDICE, PRIDE, AND POWER

ŞΙ

In an article in *The Strand Magazine* (February 1924) H. G. Wells expressed the opinion that as the last two hundred years had been devoted to mechanical and scientific revolution, so the next two hundred years are likely to be devoted to moral and social revolution, and that changes are likely to take place in this sphere as great as those which have taken place in the sphere of physical science. In this I am in entire agreement with him.

In fact many thoughtful persons believe that unless something of the kind occurs, unless some advances in the moral and spiritual ideals and practice of civilized society can be effected, soon civilization will certainly endanger its own existence. The powers which science confers will not otherwise be utilized as they should be for the advantage and benefit of every section of society and the race.

H. G. Wells says: "Man having run all over the world from Pole to Pole, having learnt how to fly round it in seven or eight days, and how to look and speak round it in a flash... will turn his practical attention to himself."

Society must be its own saviour, and there is no power which can magically create for man, as though from without, a new heaven and a new earth—better conditions can only be evolved by the latent power and the

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intelligent courage of human beings themselves. If society must save itself, it must consider its resources. Human nature and human energy themselves are among the most important factors to be considered, though not of course the only ones.

Mr Wells clearly believes that the study of human nature, made possible by modern psychology, is one of great promise and utility at the present time. The advances made in psychology as a practical science during the last thirty or forty years have been enormous.

When J.S. Mill\* wrote in 1869 on the subject of woman, he said that: "Of all difficulties which impede the progress of thought and the formation of well-guided opinions on life and social arrangements the greatest is now the unspeakable ignorance and inattention of mankind in respect to influences which form human character." And this is exactly the defect for which modern psychology will provide the remedy.

New light is nowadays continually thrown upon the obscure springs of conduct and motive, and people are beginning to understand a little better the way of working though not yet the actual nature, of that force, viz., their own energies, which men and women must use for the improvement of society and for the conscious advancement and further evolution of the race.

Now, in the present work, the writer has attempted to investigate one aspect of this human energy—a very vital one—and one particular branch of social life in which changes are essential if we are to continue to progress from a lower to a higher form of civilization, although its bearing in that connection is usually not at all clearly seen. This is due to unconscious prejudice and insufficient knowledge of the physiological and psychological facts and of the inferences to draw from them upon which true

<sup>\*</sup>J. S. Mill, On The Subjection of Women, p.39.

opinion should be based. Even serious thinkers and writers on the subject, men of science or men engaged in practical work of reform, accept as axiomatic ideas that are not really so at all.

The particular subject which is under investigation in this book, is the condition of the sexual energies in civilized society, as it affects the relative position of men and women; and especially our conception of masculine and feminine ideals.

Lester Ward\* has said: "Even true advocates of social progress in other directions do not think that the relations of the sexes can be rendered more perfect than they are."

I shall attempt to show that many of those characteristics which we consider masculine or feminine, manly or womanly, according as we refer to physical or psychological attributes, have in reality no fundamental source in essential sex-character and are due to artificial differentiation; and this artificial differentiation has on the whole a strongly deleterious effect on both the mental and physical efficiency of the race.

"Yet we must not suppose "wrote John Stuart Mill,†" that the barbarisms to which men cling longest must be the less barbarous than those which they earlier shake off."

By these statements I do not mean to assert that these ideas of masculine and feminine ideals have not in the past even made contributions to human culture. It seems probable that they have done so and that at some stages in the growth of social feeling they have played a possibly valuable part. But it is by no means certain that they will always continue to do so, or that at the present time and in the immediate future they have any real

<sup>\*</sup>Prof. Lester Ward, Dynamic Sociology, I, (1907).

<sup>†</sup> J. S. Mill, op. cit.

evolutionary significance, but do not rather act as a check and a deterrent to any further progress.

At the very least it must be said that their values are enormously over-estimated and over-accentuated at the

present time in every possible direction.

In order to facilitate the argument, it is perhaps necessary for the reader to grasp the scheme under which it is laid out, because various lines of evidence will be considered in the earlier part of the book, and threads of this evidence will only be drawn together towards the end.

My scheme is somewhat as follows:

I. In the first chapter I have dwelt upon those psychological difficulties we all possess, which prevent our appreciating the fact that our preconceived notions of ourselves may be fundamentally wrong. Technically, this difficulty is known as "Resistance," and since the Resistance is of an unconscious nature, it will be evident that in order to appreciate any form of evolutionary thought concerning ourselves, we must particularly attempt to rule out our prejudices and desires, and to separate them from our reasoning.

2. Following upon this, I have endeavoured shortly to show that there is a real problem exercising the public mind at the moment concerning woman's position in the social and economic world, and moreover that a variety of opinions are held on the subject, few of which have any value, on account of disregard of both physiological and psychological factors on the part of their propounders.

3. In the succeeding chapters, I have tried to follow the converging lines of evidence, historical, physiological, and psychological, which show that with the exception of certain definite sexual characteristics mostly connected with reproduction it is incorrect to define as masculine or feminine, various attributes commonly so regarded. In order to do this I have thought it necessary to attempt to describe shortly the chief components of sexuality, having regard to their development.

4. In the next place, I have taken a variety of these so-called masculine and feminine characteristics, and have shown the psychological motives underlying their presence, in order that fuller appreciation may be obtained of the effect they have:

A On the psychological efficiency of woman;

B On the physiological efficiency of woman and the race in general;

C On the moral and ethical efficiency of the race.

5. I have concluded by pointing out what means can be utilized to cause changes in our present condition of artificial sex differentiation, if due attention is paid to the early environment of the young, and I have further considered certain changes which seem to be necessary in order to readjust those degenerate conditions which actually exist.

### § 2

In the consideration of all subjects where prejudice or emotion of any kind is involved, there is difficulty in viewing the material before us in an impartial and scientific spirit; and this is neither due merely to conscious difficulties nor to the nature of the problem, but to the fact that even the most judicious mind finds itself continually swayed unconsciously by its preconceived notions and feelings.

In dealing with a subject therefore which has always been highly charged with feeling, it is not out of place for me to exhort my readers to attempt to rid themselves as far as possible of their conscious prejudices, while studying the facts here set before them, and to show them something of the difficulties which beset their path in attempting to do so.

It must often have been observed, for instance, how frequently the object of opposed persons in a heated argument is not at all to ascertain the truth. Each really tries to prove that what he believes is the truth. Each produces such facts as he can to support his own argument, and if he cannot ignore the facts produced on the other side, he will do his best to twist them or to deny their importance. Each becomes more and more angry and each believes that his indignation is caused by his zeal for truth, though it is nothing of the kind.

As a matter of fact, argument and a tendency to abuse which sometimes accompanies argument, is as a rule nothing except an unconscious and thoroughly infantile attempt to protect our own unconscious feelings of perfection and prevent us from having to take the trouble to think of new things, to adapt ourselves to new conditions, and to accept new views. Our feelings, though we frequently do not realise it, dictate to us which thought we shall accept and which thought we shall reject. Our logic is for the most part most illogical. Even those persons who are presumed to be most logical; for instance, scientists, have themselves a strong tendency to do this. I remember a very well-known chemist, an eminent man both in the social world and in the world of scientific research, saving to me on one occasion that he thought there must be some error in certain facts which one of his assistants had discovered, because the facts did not fit in with his own theory, which had seemed to him quite complete and which he had thoroughly accepted and made part of himself. As a matter of fact at a later period, the experiments of the assistant were repeated and the facts were found to be correct. Even so, the eminent scientist could not bring himself to accept the experimental evidence, for it did not fit in with his otherwise perfect theory, yet other scientists soon began to accept the facts and to make

modifications in the theory so that it should conform to those facts.

This habit of introducing emotion into reasoning is thus by no means uncommon even among scientists. Once they have formed theories they frequently try to ignore new facts, and tend, unconsciously, to falsify them in order that the theory may remain unshaken and their unconscious self-esteem remain undisturbed by the idea that they have made a mistake. This is not all; the disturbing uncomfortable facts are the very ones that are most readily thrust out of the mind at the earliest possible moment, and forgotten, so that we may unconsciously protect ourselves from unpleasant ideas which disturb our self-satisfaction in our beliefs. So great a scientist as Darwin recognized this in himself, for he states "I had during many years followed the golden rule,-namely that whenever a published fact, a new observation or thought came across me, which was opposed to my general results, to make a memorandum of it without fail, and at once, for I had found by experience that such facts and thoughts were far more apt to escape from the memory than favourable ones."

If this habit of selecting facts to suit the argument, and suppressing others which conflict with it may creep into the work of a scientist who is aware of it and is searching impersonally for truth, how much more is it likely to do so if we are not aware of it, not completely the friend of truth no matter how unpleasant the truth may be! This habit which we have of finding suitable reasons for things and neglecting or falsifying little facts which may completely alter the situation is known as "Rationalization"; and we have to beware of it at every turn when we are studying subjects with which we are not perfectly in sympathy.

This same tendency is to be found not only in our

religion and politics, but in the most ordinary desires of everyday life, and since we are unfortunately continually desiring to do, or to feel, or to believe things, which do not follow logically upon other things which we have also happened to have done or felt or believed at some time. and since moreover some of our desires are illogical and incompatible with other desires, this rationalization becomes a part and parcel of our lives. We have to leave out some important factor or ignore some truth or argue from false premises; we do not do this consciously, as that would be in conflict with our self-esteem. Our unconscious censor manages to delete from consciousness for the moment the unpleasant truth which we do not wish to utilize, but brings forth an array of facts that appear irrefutable and succeeds in giving us most plausible reasons, so that we may believe that which is convenient

So it is with any unpleasant theory which comes into being. At the time of Darwin, a large number of facts were discovered which led unbiassed persons to believe in the theory of evolution. But it appeared to be contrary to many religious beliefs, and the general public did not want to accept it. They could not, however, shut their eyes to the facts; what were they to do? By carefully leaving out some of them, and introducing speculative material, which they called fact, but which was not fact, they succeeded in producing excellent reasons, for refuting the theory of evolution and retaining their old beliefs. In other words, they went through a process of rationalization.

The same thing was taking place a few years ago with reference to psycho-analysis. People did not like their omnipotent feelings disturbed, did not like to find that the superior bricks of which their edifice had been built were originally made from clay, and they found excellent reasons for not believing it. This, fortunately for progress, is gradually passing away, just as the opposition to the idea of the evolution of the body passed away.

As Mill saw years ago,—\*

"The difficulty is that which exists in all cases where there is a mass of feeling to be contended against. So long as an opinion is strongly rooted in the feelings it gains rather than loses in stability by having a mass of argument against it. For if it were accepted as a result of argument the refutation of the argument might shake the solidity of the conviction, but when it rests solely on feeling, the worse it fares in argumentative contest the more persuaded its adherents are that their feeling must have some deeper ground which the arguments do not reach; and while the feeling remains, it is always throwing up fresh entrenchments of argument to repair any breach in the old."

Of course, one of the other difficulties in the way of coming to correct conclusions is that people insist on holding definite opinions when the amount of real knowledge they have is very small. This, of course, is inevitable in our limited circumstances; but it should not be equally inevitable that we should hold firmly to our beliefs, when we come to realize how limited is our knowledge of any one subject. And in order to examine facts and to get rid of rationalization as far as possible, we must try, with the utmost power at our command, to refuse that reaction of self-defence and self-pride, which prevents us from looking at ourselves and from realizing that our opinions about ourselves may be erroneous. We must be prepared to accept temporary, not fixed, judgments, based upon the evidence which we have. We must be prepared to reverse those judgments in the light of new evidence.

<sup>\*</sup> J. S. Mill, The Subjection of Women.

We must be careful not to reject this evidence merely because we do not like it.

It will now be seen how very necessary it is in dealing with such a subject as the rights of sex, the differentiation of sex, the position of women in the economic world and the effect of sex upon it, to know something of rationalization, to be continually on our guard lest we allow this to play too great a part in prejudicing us against arriving at the truth. For we may be quite sure that a very large number of our previous ideas will be completely overthrown: we shall find ourselves not in a condition of finished civilization, enlightenment, and perfection, but merely of half-evolved barbarism, and our pride will receive many a blow. We must, therefore, be willing to realize this at the beginning; we must try as we weigh up each successive factor to rule out likes and dislikes and feelings as far as it is humanly possible to do so. We must attempt to take the position of a being outside the earth, of one sitting, let us say upon another planet, watching with scientific curiosity the little human beings wandering about in their ant heap, unprejudiced by the belief of the ants in themselves or by the beliefs of the ants about themselves

### § 3

Now what are the particular tendencies against which we have especially to guard in the present discussion? First there is threatened a disturbance to our sense of power. Let me explain.

One universal factor which seems to influence activity in the human race is the desire for power, and also the desire to feel oneself powerful, whether real power be present or not. There are thus at least two forms of the desire for power. Both forms are present in every individual, either consciously or unconsciously. Both are to

be found in relation to sexual potency on the one hand. and to the general sense of superiority or dominance on the other. Any fact which tends to show that the individual will lose his power, has lost his power, or is not powerful, whether it be in regard to sexual potency or general superiority, is avoided if possible. In consciousness, under present conditions, the sense of superiority of the male is constantly gratified; and that of the woman is compensated in various ways: yet all individuals of both sexes retain in their unconscious mind from their infancy some wishes of a primitive undeveloped kind for sexual power and dominance, together with fears and feelings of inferiority in relation to these, mostly in a repressed or unrealized condition. Any fact therefore, which tends to arouse such fears tends like the fears themselves to be ignored or forgotten, or denied with the greater vehemence, just in proportion to the unknown strength of the fears.

Now when we come to speak of the equality of women with men, we at once attack the masculine feelings of superiority and power, and a tendency may at once appear in the male to deny the equality. On the other hand, the female has adopted various substitutes, for the real power which she lacks at present in many directions, and when we attack these symbols and shibboleths we are attacking her feeling of power and an equal resentment is felt. The tendency already described to ignore facts or deny or forget them comes into play. It is quite true that she may like the idea of such obvious equality, as is obtained by means of "the vote," or equal payment for equal work, but when we suggest equality, let us say in matters of social precedence or of clothing,—i.e. where we attack her symbolic substitutes for power, we shall at once find rationalization at work.

In society at the present time, the male sex is actually

in a position of dominance, and the female is subordinate,—in spite of various signs that the female is rising to a position nearer equality. The masculine sense of power with the *unconscious* fear of losing it, is a source of bias which affects all our present thinking on matters connected with the attributes and the relative position of the sexes, and causes all sorts of assumptions to be made which are not really in themselves justified. It is in fact an unacknowledged "begging of the whole question" which is supposed to be in debate.

For instance, matriarchal forms of society have actually existed, and at certain periods there has been real female dominance over men. (The two conditions must not be confused). But in our present state of patriarchal government and male dominance, there is a tendency to suppress all ideas of the "women's states," and evidence concerning them, even those in existence now, is ignored, falsified, and as far as possible forgotten because to recognize a condition of society in which woman is dominant shakes the faith of the man-historian in his own power.

Yet there is evidence that under these conditions many now so-called "masculine" qualities are not masculine and many "feminine" qualities are not feminine, for in conditions of woman's dominance, the woman possesses the so-called masculine traits and the man the feminine ones.

Let me give one or two illustrations of this from a recent work *The Dominant Sex*,\* of which I shall have occasion to make some use in this book. The authors have traced the changing phases of the relative position

<sup>\*</sup>The Dominant Sex, by Matilde and Mathias Vaerting, 1920; Eng. Trans. 1923. I will take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to the authors for permission to make use of the work, which I have fortunately been able to do before issuing the present book, my own observations over a number of years having led me to a somewhat similar point of view.

of the sexes in society with independence of thought and a great deal of research, and have observed that a mental bias is caused by the dominance of one sex or the other, and this bias leads scholars into various fallacies in the interpretation of a number of facts.

This point of view is a novel one, and if the theory of the authors should be verified upon its main grounds it is a point of view which cannot be disregarded in interpreting ethnological and sociological evidence, even though the actual relations of the power between the sexes in any given community may be too complex and varied to admit of any simple generalization being applied to them. There is always a danger of misinterpretation through reading the ideas and conditions of our own time into the past. But the effect of sexual dominance is not usually considered in this light.

The Vaertings have brought together a good deal of evidence showing that the present condition of relative physical and psychic differences which have been thought common to the species are not fixed but owe more than is generally supposed to the influence of environment acting over long periods.

The authors say,—

"Psychologists, ethnographers, and historians have hitherto regarded the relationships of power between the sexes exclusively from the outlook of masculine dominance. Their minds have been influenced by the prejudices of the present, by Men's State ideology. For this reason, their accounts of the position of women in earlier times have been coloured by a Men's State subjectivity. The result is that under an absolutist mono-sexual dominance, the general belief prevails that the extant type of sexual dominance has always existed.

"The foregoing considerations account for the campaign in our own Men's State, against the historical traces of the dominance of women; they account for the numerous misinterpretations of the evidence of such dominance, and for the unduly severe critiscism on the part of those who admit the historical reality of the Women's State.

"The marriage contracts of the pre-Ptolemaic era, as made known to us by Spiegelberg,\* contain clauses which seem incomprehensible or repugnant to those whose minds are dominated by Men's State ideology. In both these documents the woman promises the man that in the event of divorce she will not merely return to him half of the dowry, but she says: 'in addition I will pay you a share of everything I may have earned in conjunction with you during the time in which you will have been married to me.' Inasmuch as in Men's State marriages the wives do not as a rule participate in the earning of income, our Egyptologists have either ignored the passage. or else have interpreted it in a way which plainly betrays their Men's State prejudices. For instance, Wilckens writes: 'Let me remark in passing that I consider somewhat puzzling the phrase in the Libbey papyrus "onethird of the property which I may have earned in conjunction with you", for a woman does not usually earn anything. She must have been engaged in trade of some It becomes all the more obvious that the authorities' doubt as to the accuracy of the text was the outcome of their Men's State ideology when we recall that there is ample documentary evidence not merely that the women of Egypt took part in the earning of income, but that they definitely occupied a dominant position. The phrase "everything I may have earned in conjunction with you" is not only found in the Libbey papyrus, but also, as we learn from Spiegelburg, in the Berlin papyrus.

\*Wilhelm Spiegelberg Der Papyrus Libbey, ein augyptischer Heiratsvertrag, Strasburg 1907. (See Dominant Sex.)

We read, moreover, in a marriage contract of about 117 B.C., that the children are to have "everything that belongs to me, and everything that I earn in conjunction with you.""

Again:

"Diodorus tells us in so many words that the women of Egypt ruled their husbands, for the husband had to give a pledge of obedience when they married. This passage from Diodorus is a very sore point with our Men's State investigators, for there is no ambiguity about its implication that wives were absolutely supreme. In many German works on ancient Egypt the passage is completely ignored, as in the writings of Duncker, Wiedemann, Ebers, and Reitzenstein, and in the first edition of Meyer's book. In other works as in Max Müller's, for instance, the text is referred to as quite incredible, though no reasons are offered for such an assumption. Yet other authorities interpret the passage solely by the standards of modern life.

"Wilckens' writings furnish an illustration of the last method. He says 'In this connection historiographers have been wrongly supposed to have declared that among the Egyptians the husband promised to obey his wife, and have been censured for giving currency to so incomprehensible a view. But Diodorus must not be necessarily understood as having meant that the husband was to obey the wife in everything.' In the end Wilckens comes to the conclusion that Diodorus must have written 'emphatically', in order to bring the subject into relation with an earlier passage in which he wrote of Isis and Osiris. Even the discovery of the Libbey papyrus, which in conjunction with the so-called Berlin papyrus completely confirms Diodorus' statement, has not induced all the Egyptologists to change their tactics.

"It is most characteristic that modern authors should

have no hesitation in reproducing marriage formulas wherein the wife promises to obey her husband. No one expresses any doubt as to the authenticity of these. Whereas the marriage formulas which accord with the time-spirit of the Men's State are regarded as obviously accurate the marriage formulas of the Women's State, which conflict with the time-spirit of the Men's State are received with the utmost incredulity..."

These extracts will serve to show the kind of bias due to the prevalent type of sexual dominance, and the kind of error to which it leads. It is one which is part and parcel of practically all our customary thinking on matters of sex, and yet it is a bias which every reader who wishes to gain a scientific grasp of the facts concerning relative sexual attributes and characters must take into consideration or he will run the risk of regarding as fundamental some assumption which is not really fundamental at all.

The prevailing male dominance can be seen to affect the views of historians, scientists and writers on sociology, and even psychoanalysts, who have eliminated many of their prejudices in order to investigate the mind impartially are not free from it. Dr. Karl Abraham for instance, in discussing the castration complex in women has done so from a thoroughly masculine standpoint.

Professor Freud's study of the "nuclear complex", in *Totem and Taboo*,\* is based upon the primitive patriarchal group (as the nearest representative of Darwin's "primal horde"), with a tendency to ignore the matriarchal

<sup>\*</sup>The comment does not affect the relevancy of Freud's conclusion to the patriarchal group. He himself a tone point observes the difficulty, as in discussing the evolution of gods through the deification of the murdered father, he says, (Totem and Taboo, transl. Brill, p. 246.): "In this evolution I am at a loss to indicate the place of the great maternal deities who perhaps everywhere preceded the paternal ones." Other illustrations of this tendency might be selected from Professor Freud's other writings.

group, although totemism is found also in these forms of primitive society. Similar tendencies are to be observed in the work of Dr Ernest Jones and other leading psychoanalysts.

I have myself been told in print by one critic that "real sex equality in all spheres is a phantasy, and that diatribes against the artificial differentiation of sex are diatribes against sex instinct", and by another that he finds "no epithet to describe the inculcation of such views in connection with psychoanalysis."

I will admit that real sex equality does not exist in our society at present, except perhaps in individual cases, and to this extent the assertion of it may be called a phantasy.

I also recognize as I shall mention in Chapter II, that views on the question of sex equality have nothing to do with psycho-analysis considered as a school of psychotherapy. Such views are an application of certain findings of psycho-analysis which appear to be capable of this application when united with other lines of argument.

In any case, both the above criticisms of the view in question owe a good deal to the present natural bias in favour of male dominance, and are excellent illustrations of it. Accordingly, the latter critic applies the term "feminism" to the present writer's views, as a term of reproach. They are not likely to be welcomed as flattering by such feminists as may wish women to attain equality while retaining various spurious compensations for their inferiority, nor by those who may unconsciously wish to substitute some form of female dominance for the present male form.

Let us examine a little further one of the forms of the idea of power already mentioned; it is one with an important bearing upon my subject.

There is a close association in the unconscious mind

between ideas of power in general and sexual power. analysis, phallic symbolism is continually met with, and is well known by psycho-analysts in relation to feelings of inferiority, in both sexes. It is well known that in the past the phallus\* has been an object of worship and is so still in some parts of the world. We have nowadays long discarded the phallus as a conscious emblem of potency with a religious significance, but we have not discarded it from our unconscious mind, and it will be seen at a later stage of this book, that not a little of conventional behaviour in civilized society seems to depend on this ancient symbol.

The importance of phallic ideas is liable to be underestimated by most people at the present time, as they do not realise that they have a strong unconscious idea of the phallus associated with the idea of power.

It is not difficult to see, however, how this association arose. Fertility is a most impressive power to the imagination of primitive man, and there can be no doubt that the most magical and mysterious of all phenomena in his experience was that of birth. The creation of a new human being would appear, as soon as the intellect became even slightly developed, to be probably the most wonderful act in human life. To be able to accomplish such an act, would be regarded as a sign of strength, and it would be noticed that the wonderful feat could only be accomplished in the prime of life. Before puberty, a child could not be attained. In old age, likewise there was no possibility of procreation. Since man at first knew nothing of the anatomy or physiology of reproduction, and was only able to trace birth to connection between the male and female reproductive organs, the external organs in both men and women were associated with the power of fertility. But the male and female

<sup>\*</sup>Phallus - a representation of the male genital organ.

organs have been held in different value at different times: sometimes the prevailing symbolism shows the preference for one or the other and sometimes symbols of the two in conjunction are found. Probably the prevailing type of sexual dominance in different ancient civilizations helped to determine the choice of symbol associated with most power, i.e. the preference of the dominant sex; \* or perhaps the genital organs of that sex which was regarded as contributing most to the birth of the child would represent the utmost power. Thus for instance at the time when Plato thought that the woman contributed nothing to the child, but that it sprang entirely from the male, the mother's womb being merely a cradle in which it was matured, the Athenian woman held no position in society, and the worship of the male reproductive organ was at its height.

It would seem that indeed the reproductive organs of both sexes, having regard to time, place, and condition, may equally well serve as the root of what is at present known as the Castration Complex,† here again the fact

\*M. and M. Vaerting, op. cit., p. 109.

†Castration Complex.—Fear of loss or injury to the genital organs. In psychological terms it has for both sexes special reference to the male

organ.

Since this book is not written for psychologists, and since it must necessarily contain many references to results of analytical psychology, I will explain the term complex with some degree of fulness. The definition of a complex is "an unconscious group or constellation of ideas." Most readers will know enough of the mind to realize that a very large portion of it is unconscious. This unconscious part contains memories, and emotions; it holds our primitive instincts, our our repressed ideas, infantile and non-moral thoughts, and wishes which are still in existence and are still charged with force and energy though we are ignorant of their existence in many cases. All the ideas, feelings and emotions which centre round some unconscious nuclear idea form a complex. Though unconscious, they are at work moulding and diverting our wishes, thoughts, and actions. A complex, therefore, is frequently the centre of a conflict. That conflict may be partially conscious or quite unconscious, and it is these unconscious conflicts which are at the root of hysterias, of unexplained anxieties and depressions,

that we live in a time of male dominance partially obscures this possibility.

To-day, the importance of sexual potency is still obvious. The impotent man or woman is regarded with the greatest pity, and to be sexually impotent is one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall. No parts of the body are guarded with such care in surgical operations as the ovaries and testes, and one may say that a certain sacred significance is still attached to them by surgeons, who will never recommend their removal in any but the most urgent cases.

These signs, however, are but small compared with those we find on the analysis of patients. In every person who comes to one for analysis one finds that unconsciously the phallus still is for them in a high degree a representative of power, and when we trace its age-long significance in this respect, it is scarcely to be wondered at.

Enough has now been said, I think, to show the large part which repression and rationalization take in our consideration of facts concerning the relative position of man and woman; and the consequent need that any student of this subject should rid himself and herself of many ideas impressed by suggestion from infancy onwards and constantly reinforced by desires to support his or her feelings of self esteem and dominance. As Bacon has said: "We are led by the pressure of current opinion to ignore views which run counter to that opinion."

of unreasonable fears of such harmless things as mice or beetles and in many cases even of certain forms of lunacy. In fact every neurotic symptom is derived from some mental conflict involving unconscious complexes, and it is largely by bringing these complexes into light, and thus making conflicts conscious instead of unconscious, that psychoanalysts are able to cure neurotic conditions.

### § 4

There are many forms of argument which people use as soon as they come up against evolutionary thoughts, and amongst these is one in particular which I have found time after time. It is "How dull that would be!"

I have no doubt that such a remark will tend to come up on many occasions as people read some of the later chapters of this work, but it is, as a matter of fact, the most fallacious statement that could possibly be made. It shows an ignorance of the laws of psychic energy which renders it a rationalization pure and simple. The laws of psychic energy are much the same as those of physical energy.

"We know that there are not several kinds of physical energy, but merely several manifestations of it, and that it may be changed from one form of manifestation to another, but that still the sum total of the original energy

remains without addition or loss.

"Thus there is a given amount of energy in a ton of coal. This energy can manifest itself as heat in the furnace and boiler. By means of an engine we can change the manifestation into that of motion, then with a dynamo to electricity; the electricity we can again change into light, or back into heat or motion. There is one energy, but by suitable means we can turn it to different uses, and give different manifestations of it. Owing, however, to the imperfection of our boiler, machinery, etc., we never transform the whole of our energy into another form. In transforming heat into electricity there is always some heat wasted; it is not destroyed, but it remains as heat for a time and is absorbed by surrounding objects. A complete transformation of energy does not take place, and the less efficient the machinery, the less efficient is the transformation.

Now evidence tends to show a considerable analogy between psychic and physical energy.\* Thus the energy of erotic desire can be directed or changed into desire for music, religion, science, or sport. Again energy manifested in desire for physical sport, can be directed into desire for mental exercise, such as chess, mathematics or science.

For example, an individual feels "restless": he then desires to play tennis; the afternoon is wet; he plays chess instead. His psychic energy has been diverted from one channel into another with its accompanying pleasure and excitement, with its final feeling of fatigue and satisfaction".

"Psychic energy, like physical energy, can never be entirely diverted from one channel to another. There is always some, often a large quantity, which is not altered in direction or character. The amount of this depends largely on the individual, just as the amount of physical energy, changed from one form to another depends on the efficiency of the engine or machinery."

If interest is lost in one subject it is gained elsewhere. As a child, many a boy looks upon adult life as being extremely dull; his interest and curiosity in seeing things may range from peeping through the bath-room key-hole to watching a conjuror or a pantomime or a thousand and one other purely entertaining but otherwise useless things. He cannot at the age of ten imagine that all these interests in looking will some day be changed to, shall we say, a passion for examining bacteria and other minute organ-

\*In this comparison between psychic and physical energy, here and elsewhere, in this book, I mean to imply no more than an analogy between the two.

In the use of this term psychic energy, I wish here to imply no theory of the nature of "libido." I here employ the term "psychic energy" in preference to "libido" because the latter is used in different senses by different psycho-analytic schools. The term is chosen for convenience, and because it conveys a right idea for practical purposes.

isms through a microscope. It you were to tell the average boy of ten that he would get as much pleasure out of doing this for several hours a day as he did out of his present occupations, he might not believe you; he would say (if he expressed his real thought), "How very dull grown-ups must be!" That is simply because he does not realise that his interests will change; in other words his energy will turn from one direction to another, will flow in new channels instead of the old, and that pleasure and interest consist largely in nothing except this flow of energy.

It is quite true that in the case of adults, the majority of them could not suddenly change their flow of energy and get a new interest. It is unlikely that if a sudden change came about in which all the present interest which many women possess were destroyed and a completely new set substituted, that many women would be able to adapt themselves to such conditions. Many would undoubtedly be dull, but since no sudden change is likely to take place, since it is a matter of evolution instead of revolution, since there will be new generations with new tastes and a new direction for the outflow of their energy, this difficulty does not present itself; and in any case it only presents itself to those adults who are ill prepared for a change of energy from one path into another.

A new generation used to other sights and other interests would regard the past interests with as much abhorrence as the present one may regard a change to others. How many of us, for instance, would like to go back or adjust ourselves comfortably to the days of a few hundred years ago when there were neither spoons nor forks, when even the king ate his meat with his fingers, when there were often no sanitary arrangements in houses, when there were no books to read nor theatres to go to! Yet, I have no doubt that the people of those days

of whom we should rashly remark, "How very dull their lives were," would equally have abhorred a change to present customs, would have considered many of them uninteresting, immoral and certainly unpleasant.

Therefore, at least while reading such a subject as this, one must refrain from considering whether new changes which should logically follow would seem dull to us under present conditions. One should remember that the law of conservation of energy applies to the psychic as well as to the physical realm, that if one ceases to spend money on one form of pleasure one may be sure that a substitute will present itself elsewhere.

### SUMMARY OF CHAPTER I

- I. In studying any subject which is charged with feeling it is impossible, unless great care be taken, to come to the correct solution of a problem. Rationalization, that is the unconscious invention or selection of reasons in accordance with our feelings, invariably takes place when we unconsciously do not desire to recognize the underlying motives for any of our activities. Rationalization prejudices nearly every argument which we examine, and it is therefore absolutely essential for us to be on our guard against rationalization at every single step in studying a subject which has any emotional value attached to it at all. This particularly has reference to the examination of subjects which have any sexual emotion attached to them, since it is on such subjects that we are the most prejudiced.
- 2. The desire for power or to feel power is one of the most active forces at work behind rationalization, as well as being one of the forces behind our almost every act.
- 3. There is evidence that in many instances woman has held a dominant position over man in past history, but the unconscious effort of man towards feeling power tends to prevent the historian from recognizing this fact. Equally, the unconscious desire to feel powerful, and the fear lest such feeling should be lost, tends to prevent the analyst, the doctor, or the educationalist from recognizing in the female any dominant characteristics which he is in the habit of ascribing to the male and to ideas of potency.
- 4. It is against rationalization on such lines as above that the reader must be particularly on his guard in studying the subject matter of this work.

5. There is an equal tendency to rationalization concerning symbols of power which woman has now adopted, whether they are accompanying real power or are merely substitutes for it. And again here the female reader must beware of rationalization, for it may be a hard thing to face one's lack

of real power.

6. Psychic energy, like physical energy, appears to be of one kind only, though it may, like physical energy, have many forms of manifestation. Like physical energy, psychic energy can be transformed into another form but never completely, always some remains in the original form. The amount unchanged depends on the efficiency of the particular personal machinery.

7. There need be no fear, as humanity gives up one form of enjoyment and takes up another interest which may appear to the infantile mind to be dull, that such will really be the case. For pleasure merely consists in the discharge of psychic energy through a suitable channel, and higher substitutes are as likely to give as much pleasure as the lower

forms.

8. A "complex" is a system or group of ideas bearing upon one central idea, the whole or part of which system is repressed into unconsciousness together with its emotional tone. Although unconscious, it remains active and continually interferes with and motivates our conscious action, thoughts and prejudices.

#### CHAPTER II

# THE FALSE CONCEPTION OF MASCULINE AND FEMININE ATTRIBUTES IN SOCIETY

ŞΙ

When women take up business or sport which has hitherto been regarded as belonging to the masculine sphere, at once the argument arises as to whether or not this usurpation by women of men's work and pastimes is not bad for the race and bad for the women.

In the first place, it is obvious that women are treated collectively as being very different from men, and on the other hand that many women are unwilling to admit as much difference as convention has hitherto imposed. That a movement of rebellion is taking place by certain women against not only the hitherto accepted inferiority of women, but also against what they consider to be undue differentiation of sexual privileges, is exemplified by recent legislation in which women have after a struggle obtained enfranchisement and have attempted and attained some degree of legal equality with men in other directions.

This revolution, however, if such it may be called, is undoubtedly taking place against very much prejudice and almost overwhelming odds as things stand at present, and we see it not only in the sphere of business, but in sport, in etiquette, and in almost every sphere of activity and thought.

The idea of women's inferiority, however, obviously persists. It is well known that in spite of all this legislation,

female wage earners are not considered equal to male ones, and therefore it is thought their wages should be lower; and this consideration is not based upon their education but upon a much deeper feeling that in spite of all theories to the contrary, women are really not the equals of men.

Let me illustrate this by a few examples of current

opinion taken from newspaper correspondence.

Here are two consecutive letters from an evening paper; the first by a man, the second by a woman. They are diametrically opposed to one another in their ideas, and the contrast will serve to show both the difficulties and prejudices which have to be overcome.

Here is the first letter—by a man:

"Surely there is no simpler test of a nation's civilization than its attitude towards women, and any falling off in the minor courtesies that serve for the expression of this is greatly to be deplored. Individual strength or weakness is immaterial in matters of this kind; men are privileged to pay a certain deference to women simply because they belong to the same sex as their mother. If in moments of crisis, the salutary principles of 'women and children first ' is to hold good—a tradition essentially bound up with British ideals—we cannot afford to weaken it by gradual and of course progressive infringement of our ordinary life. Personally I use as many as six buses a day, and dislike standing as strongly as most people. But if one had to choose between extremes, I should infinitely prefer to register a preference for the attitude which prompted Louis XIV to take off his hat to a chambermaid on the grand staircase of Versailles, and to carry her pail for her, than its opposite, which savours more of Unter den Linden than of the country which a much travelled Belgian duchess described not long ago as the politest in the world ".

Here is the second letter—by a woman:

" As one of those women who invariably refuse to take a man's seat in a tram or tube, let me state the reasons many of us have.

"We regard this and other forms of exaggerated sex differentiation as primitive and belonging to a lower form of civilization. If we are physically capable of playing hockey or tennis, we are also capable of standing in a tram, and a healthy woman is much more able to do so than the city clerk, shall we say, with bad varicose veins. That it is purely etiquette and not courtesy in its true sense is evidenced by the fact that sometimes when I have refused a seat, the man has himself declined to take it again, thereby rendering us both ridiculous; his thoughts were not for my comfort but for his own pride. True courtesy is not from one sex to another but from youth to age, or from health to ill-health".

The headmistress of a large girls' school wrote a article on the position of women thwarted in their professional and social aims—with reference to the "collegetrained" woman.\* She was answered by a well-known woman journalist who suggested that her views were out of date, and attempted to show that women were intellectually as good as men, that physically, they were not so very different, but that at the same time, while they should have full equality with men they should also preserve their femininity in clothing and should attempt to be as pretty as possible. Considerable correspondence was carried on, on similar lines, in more than one newspaper about that time, and the sequence of some of the opposing ideas may be illustrated by the following letters.

This is the first:

"Some of your correspondents appear to have misunderstood Miss Cowdroy, who certainly did not say that women should not attend universities or receive the higher

<sup>\*</sup>The Evening News, Sept 1921.

education. Miss Cowdroy said and meant, I believe, that the education they did receive did not tend to produce the highest intellectual soul force of women; it merely produced the female man. Pretty well-dressed women are a pleasure to all beholders, and since God made two sexes. two sexes there must always be ".

The next letter was from a woman doctor:

"Miss West in her reply to Miss Cowdroy speaks of the advancement gained by woman in the past by 'copying' men, but she seems to suggest that there is no further need to copy them now. Surely there is still much that we might copy. For instance, their more logical outlook,

their greater conservation of mental forces, etc.

"With regard to the masculine type of dress affected by some women, it is not necessarily copied. It is true that the type of dress worn by men has more to be said for its use and general suitability than women's dress, and for that reason alone women might well copy it and discard their feminine frills; but in most cases the wearing of a similar type of dress, etc., is done with a higher object in view, that of eliminating purely artificial accentuation of sex and adding to the progress of the race. Woman's dress is designed to attract the male; woman herself without artificial aid is sufficient for all useful purposes: the added attraction of her feminine dress serves no useful purpose. Indeed it too often hinders good and useful work that might be done, and also prevents her own moral growth. She makes tremendous efforts to attract sexually whilst desiring to be thought moral and worthy of respect. Except to her husband, her sex should be of no account; she should appear simply as an individual taking her place in the world and enjoying the same social privileges as man. Friendship made as a result of mutual attraction and respect would naturally lead to marriage in many cases, since the elimination of artificial differentiation could not destroy natural instincts, and the children of such marriages would be of much more benefit to the race than the offspring of parents whose temporary affection for one another was based on ordinary sex attraction."

The third letter has again quite a different aspect:

"Miss Rebecca West apparently forgets that the physical factors surrounding women create an obstacle which prevents thousands entering public life effectively. This is why many women though brilliant in professions are victims of hysteria and neurotic tendencies. Bearing these factors in mind, it is clear beyond dispute that for a woman to hold a judicial position such as a magistrate or jurywoman is both dangerous and absurd."

The fourth letter was by another doctor:

"Miss Rebecca West in her criticism of Miss Cowdroy suggests that she is twenty-five years out of date. May I suggest in this age of haste, research in physiology and psychology are already tending to cause Miss West herself to be left behind? And that the questions which she debates are gradually being solved by facts and logic rather than as heretofore by opinions based upon one's personal desires and feelings. One cannot in a few lines go into the details, but one may indicate that there is another earnest school of workers in the same field though with a different and less prejudiced method of investigation. Miss West denies that women are copying men and seems pleased with her denial. Why? Why should they be ashamed of copying men when men have been at work inventing and improving ways and means for generations? She admits that the Creator made the legs of men and women on the same plan, yet why does she immediately defend a different method of clothing them? The same applies to her remarks of women with short hair. Men once had long hair; surely it was equally becoming

to them? But hygiene and convenience led to its being cut off. The fault lies in the fact that environment and other circumstances have till recently blinded us to the knowledge that there is very much less difference between men and women than we artificially ascribe. Both are bi-sexual physically and psychically they are still more so: this is at present not recognised by the majority. all artificial differences may now be recognised scientifically as displacements of certain forms of erotic perversion instead of as virtues, as is so commonly believed! Let us look without prejudice at one small point only. We are brought up from childhood with the idea of repressing our sexual instincts and of keeping them out of sight and out of thought. But the greatest paradox of our time is that we then proceed to stimulate them at every turn by means of adding artificial sex differentiation to those which nature has already bestowed. In dress, customs, and many other ways, we shout our sex to all and sundry as soon as we come over the horizon, whereas actually the sex of a person should only be of interest to the sexual mate, prospective or accomplished.

"Amongst the evils of artificial sex differentiation comes the deflection of a large amount of mental energy into useless and harmful channels. But this is not all; it has been pointed out in a recent report by the Medical Research Committee that it leads to physical and mental deterioration of the race; for wives are not chosen by intellectual or physical standards only, but very largely by the accentuation of their purely erotic charms, by means which are wholly artificial, as, for instance, dress or undress. And unfortunately, the less a person has been taught to utilize her mental energy in useful ways, the more she is enabled to devote it to those artificial methods which accentuate her sex abnormally.

"We have struggled for equality in law, in pay, in the

vote: these are but straws in the wind: for if woman desires in full to have theoretical equality and to take her place in the evolution from barbarism to higher things, she will have to sweep away not some but all artificial differences, for the law of conservation of energy is as exact in the mental as in the physical realm. As Miss West remarks: 'men and women alike have legs'; let us also remember that most of the rest of their constitution is alike, whether mental or physical, and does not need special attention called to the sex of the owner. artificial differences come out of primitive material fostered by perverse training and environment in early childhood. They are not real, however they appear to our now accustomed eyes, and they obstruct hopelessly the path which mental energy must follow if real and ideal equality is ever to be attained."

As bearing on this question of psychic energy, the fifth letter is of some interest, though the writer of it, while observing facts, is quite unconscious of their cause:

"College-trained women claim to have successfully developed an intellect above the ordinary superficial wit of their sex. Then why does one never hear them keenly discussing any of the thousands of possible subjects of interest to men and women unless they need something or have lost something or a career is involved? And why, if unmarried and under middle age do they never broaden out, mellow or adjust their work-a-day action and points of view to conform with the onward march of the human race unless circumstances—as now—force them to do so? If there is any out-of-jointness in their life, they are themselves to blame."

I have selected a few letters which will show first of all that a change is taking place in the popular attitude to the question of the relative position of men and women in the economic and social fields; and that this change is not coming about easily, but is opposed very strongly to almost every manner of custom in which we have been brought up, and some very primitive emotions are touched. Mother-worship is appealed to, the "power of the father" predisposes us to the acceptance of tradition and the authority of accustomed beliefs; the enormous influence of habit and use resist change. The mental and physical differences of the sexes are freely canvassed with little prior examination of the facts, frequently in accordance with prejudice pure and simple. Popular belief is in a state which Plato might have called opinion and not knowledge.

If we turn to learned and scientific opinion, the case is unfortunately not very much better. This is to a large extent unavoidable; new information concerning the sexual factor in psychology has only been assimilated very gradually and with hesitation. On the whole, moreover, it has met with more opposition from the learned world than from the intelligent lay public. The application to social phenomena of even such facts as may be taken as broadly established, such as the much wider scope of the sexual life of the child than was formerly believed, or the mechanism of repression and resistance, has naturally scarcely begun. The application of psychology to the problems of social phenomena has mainly been upon lines independent of psycho-analytic research, though they may prove to be converging lines, and it has been approached by educational investigators. But these applications of psychology are still scarcely more than a hopeful possibility of the future.

One of the difficulties for the "layman" is that some most eminent authorities are not able to estimate the bearing of newer psychological research in relation to their own studies. A striking instance of this is that Prof. Westermarck even in the 1921 edition of the History of Human Marriage, perpetuates the theory of innate aversion to sexual relations between persons who have been living closely together from the childhood of one or both of them, which displays itself as a prohibition of unions between kindred\* and says: "that the results of so-called psycho-analysis are destructive to my theory is a supposition for which I must see some evidence before I can take it seriously."† Many of the works of scholars like Havelock Ellis and A. Forel embody many of the elements of pre-analytic sexual psychology and make assumptions which are mainly based upon the conditions of modern life. The work of others, especially of women writers, is too much coloured by an emotional or sentimental outlook, or by particular application to some political or economic problem.

Of late years there has been improvement in several ways; two valuable factors which have tended to broaden public opinion may be mentioned. Both the practical work of women themselves in many fields, especially that of politics and medicine, and the investigations of preanalytical enquirers into matters of sex psychology have prepared the way for further advances in knowledge. Another valuable idea which has prepared the ground for further work appears in the form of a warning against dogmatism in respect of women's sphere of work and capabilities, since she is not as yet sufficiently free to have any effective possibility of choice, and since psychic differences of sex require social equality before they can be properly estimated.

†History of Human Marriage, (1921), II, p. 204.

<sup>\*</sup>Human Marriage, II, pp. 191 seq. Cf. Development of Moral Ideas (1912), II, pp. 372, 386, etc., additional notes p. 749, with much more to the same effect. The work of Freud is represented by only two works in his very full list of authorities and no other leading psychoanalytic worker except Jung is mentioned.

The psychoanalytic schools have not entered greatly into the special question of the ultimate relative powers of the sexes. This is mainly because it is no part of the task of psychoanalysis to do anything of the sort. analysis has a definite and limited field. Psychoanalysts as medical men have to deal with the treatment of patients and as scientists with investigation of the unconscious part of the mind. Their discoveries have obviously a bearing upon other sides of life, but with this they are not greatly concerned as psychoanalysts. Their business is with what is, not what ought to be, and for the most part they accept the sex differentiation to which we are accustomed without much comment. In a period of acute and accentuated artificial differentiation between the sexes it is only to be expected that the differences will be found to penetrate and to be present in the unconscious mind as well as at more accessible levels of consciousness.

Freud has written in this connection: †

"Psychoanalysis has a common basis with biology, in that it supposes an original bi-sexuality of human beings (as of animals). But Psychoanalysis cannot elucidate the intrinsic nature of what in conventional phraseology is termed 'masculine' and 'feminine', it simply takes over the two concepts and makes them the foundation of its work. When we attempt to reduce them further we find masculinity vanishing into activity and femininity into passivity and that does not tell us enough."

These are cautious words, but some psycho-analysts go much further. Dr. Ernest Jones, for instance, says that "the depth of penetration into the unconscious mind can

† International Journal of Psychoanalysis p. 148 (A case of Female Homo-sexuality), 1920.

<sup>\*</sup> For instance, the Austrian psychoanalyst Aurel Kolnai in a study called *Psychoanalysis and Sociology* dismisses the question of woman's position in a few words as of very little importance.

be correlated with an increasingly clear differentiation between the sex differences in question."\*

One would be glad to know whether this means that the fundamental and artificial differences can be clearly discriminated in the unconscious mind, as, it so, this is information which is much needed, or if it means that in this author's view the present observed differentiation is supported and justified by the observation of unconscious factors.

In either case the matter in the state of contradiction shown by my two quotations can hardly be left here. But further evidence will no doubt be forthcoming. Here, therefore, let me say clearly, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, that although I have formed the views here set forth partly in the course of my psychoanalytical experience I do not make any of these deductions as a part of the aims and methods of psychoanalysis itself, but because I believe they can and ought to be drawn in application to a wider field of investigation.

§2

The fundamental question raised, although it is not recognized by everyone, is not merely that of women's "rights", it is a much deeper matter than that. It is the question as to whether or not our conception of what is masculine and what is feminine may or may not be quite erroneous; whether our standard of male and female characteristics is not wrong, and it is this question which I wish to examine a little more carefully in the present chapter.

We know that among most civilized races of the present time,—and I include the Chinese, the Hindus, and, indeed, the majority of mankind as civilized though with varying

<sup>\*</sup> International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Oct. 1923, p. 500.

standards of civilization,—woman is regarded as something very different from man, a personality with completely different attributes and, on the whole, of an inferior type.

Let me quote from the Indian epic, the *Mahābāhrata*, and we shall find one very common idea of normal feminine

nature clearly expressed:

"The duties of woman are created with the rites of wedlock. She should be beautiful and gentle, considering her husband as her god and serving him as such in fortune and misfortune, health and sickness, obedient even if commanded to unrighteous deeds, or acts that may lead to her own destruction. She should rise early, serving the gods, always keeping the home clean, serving the domestic sacred fire, eating only after the needs of gods, guests and servants are satisfied, devoted to her father and mother and the father and mother of her husband. Devotion to her lord, her husband, is woman's honour, her eternal heaven."

Or from the Laws of Manu:

"Though destitute of virtue or seeking pleasure elsewhere, or devoid of good qualities, a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife. If a wife obeys her husband, she will for that reason alone be exalted in heaven. The production of children, the nurture of those born and the daily life of men, of these things woman is visibly the cause."

The marriage service in the English Prayer Book expresses some similar ideas, not quite so crudely perhaps as they are expressed in the Hindu literature. It adds, however, another point which I will mention in passing: the words "to have and to hold" are phraseology belonging to the legal transfer of property: they occur in the conveyance of a house or a piece of land. The associations of this survival are, of course, such as few persons

who hear the words ever consciously realize, and yet they suggest to us another aspect of the social inferiority of women, one which has deep psychological roots relating to the idea of possession. The psychological reference, however, goes much further than the mere preservation of a formula of the transfer of the power of the father over the woman to the husband at marriage; the implications are here those of a primitive (or immature), and, in the adult, regressive attitude to the sexual partner of either sex. However, in considering the question of artificial differentiation we may pass them by. I have mentioned it in order to prevent an impression that artificial differentiation is the only factor of importance in the social inferiority of women. It is not the only one.

At certain periods, insistence on female inferiority has been very marked. Plato at one time denied that woman contributed anything to the being of the children; she was only the nourisher of the germ implanted by the man. Plato was in advance of the opinion of his time in deciding that there was no essential difference in the nature of men and women, since he thought the mere difference of reproductive function did not constitute a real difference. He considered that their occupations and education should be similar, chosen on grounds of personal fitness, not on grounds of sex, but he at the same time reiterated the inferiority of woman by saying that her powers are of the same nature as man's but weaker in all respects.\*

The Mahommedan denies the possession of souls to women; there is no entrance into paradise for them.

Though our women to-day have consciously a much higher pedestal than this to stand upon, we continually warn them against usurping masculine functions and

<sup>\*</sup>Plato, Republic, Bk. V. It is true that Plato advances no argument to support his statement that the women's powers are weaker than those of the men. It is assumed e.g. that "female dogs are weaker than males".

exhort them to realize that man is the ruler and woman the frail subject.

The idea of the frailty of woman and her natural inferiority has not everywhere or at all times held good. Her social position was among various peoples a quite favourable one,\* and if we can find any evidence that at other times men and women have held quite a different relative position than that to which we are accustomed even to reversing the present rôles in many ways, both in the physical and mental spheres, it will be enough to show at the least that the ideas and standards of to-day as to what constitutes male and female character are not so fixed as we think they are, but are capable of alteration, because they are influenced by factors in the environment to a greater extent than it appears possible, if we consider only the social conditions to which we are accustomed. Such evidence exists and its extent is not sufficiently realised for a reason already mentioned, which has been suggested by M. and M. Vaerting who say: †

"Under mono-sexual dominance there necessarily and invariably prevails a powerful inclination to obliterate all traces of any earlier dominance exercised by the sex that is now subordinate. This tendency is psychologically determined: it is the inevitable outcome of the ideology of mono-sexual dominance. The members of the ruling sex feel affronted by every reminder of the fact that in former days their sex was under tutelage, and the sentiment is accentuated by the reflection that rule was then exercised by those who are now subordinate. Monosexual dominance, therefore, at its zenith, is always characterized by the spread of a tradition that the hegemony of the sex actually in power is eternal and unalterable.

\*See Westermarck, Position of Woman in Early Civilizations (Sociological Review, 1905). †M. & M. Vaerting, The Dominant Sex.

"For example, Breysig, E. Meyer, and many others, try to prove the impossibility of the dominance of women even in the earliest periods of human history, on the ground that, precisely in those ruder times, men must have been more ruthless in taking advantage of their superior bodily strength. L. von Wiese says that the characteristics of women under the conditions of the primal age are explicable on the ground that they had then the cruel and difficult task of adapting themselves to the more powerful males. To-day, the average man is physically stronger than the average woman. Inferences from this are uncritically applied to the conditions of the primal age. Yet the ratios between the stature of men and women are not constants, but vary concomitantly with changes in the relationships of power between the sexes . . . Among many peoples, the women are the stronger than the men, and this occurred in periods when women were dominant. It is obvious that these investigators' men's-state ideology has led them into the fallacy of making what happened to be the conditions of their own day a standard for past times. . . "

The position of women in ancient Egypt was according to Herodotus\* as follows:

"They have established laws and customs opposite for the most part to those of the rest of mankind. With them the women go to market and traffic; the men stay at home and weave. The men carry burdens on their heads, the women on their shoulders; the boys are never forced to maintain their parents unless they wish to do so; the girls are obliged to, even if they do not wish it."

That is to say, the dominant sex is the one to be burdened with responsibility.

Diodorus Siculus† also states that among the ancient Egyptians all authority was vested in the women who

<sup>\*</sup>Herodotus, Histories. †Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica.

discharged all kinds of public affairs. The men dealt with domestic affairs in the same way as the women do among ourselves, and were obedient to their wives. Men were not allowed to undertake war service or any of the functions of government nor were they allowed to fill any public office which might have given them more spirit to set themsleves against the women. The children were handed over immediately after birth to the men, who reared them on milk. M. and M. Vaerting say on this point:

"There are definite indications, likewise, that in ancient Egypt the men had the care of infants in arms and looked after their feeding. It is recorded that the royal princes and princesses had male nurses as late as the day of the

Middle Kingdom."

In Sparta, where women were the "dominant sex," they were, according to Plutarch, the only people who could own property. On this point, let me again cite M. and M. Vaerting\*:

"In the case of those primitive folk among whom women were dominant, there is no lack of detailed and unambiguous information to the effect that women were the sole property owners. This was the case among the Chamorros, the Cantabri, the Balonda, the Iroquois, the Lycians, the Kamchadales, the Nicaraguans, the Zambesis, and many others. Among such peoples, the husband could not sell anything without his wife's permission. We find among the Chamorros a typical instance of the way in which under the dominance of women the husband brings the dowry whilst the wife is the sole property owner. Here it is always the husband who contributes the dowry, never the wife. If the husband had no property to contribute when he married, he became the wife's servant.' All the property belonged to the wife,

<sup>\*</sup>M. &.M. Vaerting, op. cit.

and she retained everything in the event of a divorce. When a man died, all the property remained in the hands of the wife; at a woman's death, on the other hand, the heritage passed to her children and other blood relations, and never to her husband, who had absolutely no right to dispose of the property independently. Conditions were similar among the Iroquois in the days when feminine dominance prevailed. Among the Lycians, where women were also dominant, the mother had the sole right to dispose of property, and daughters were the only inheritors. A son could inherit nothing. Among the Kamchadales, the husbands had no property rights. The wives owned all the property of a married pair, and even allowanced the husband's tobacco as they pleased.

"When women ruled in Kamchatka, the men not only did the cooking but all the rest of the housework, the sewing, and the laundry work, docilely doing everything assigned to them by the women. The men are so domesticated, says Meiners,\* that they greatly dislike being away from home for more than one day. Should a longer absence than this become necessary, they try to persuade their wives to accompany them, for they cannot get on without the women folk.

"Under the above conditions, a man's work was beneath a woman's dignity; she thought that it would demean her to undertake any of the duties that were allotted to the subordinate sex. Not even a promise of high pay could induce a Kamchadale woman to undertake sewing, laundry work, and similar services. In Kamchatka these were a man's tasks. There was only one way in which members of the exploring party in Kamchatka could bribe the Kamchatka women to undertake tasks regarded by them with such contempt. This was "by the gratification of their sensual appetite." The

<sup>\*</sup>C. Meiners, History of the Female Sex; transl. by Shobert.

point is worth noting because it is so characteristic of mono-sexual dominance to find the dominant sex repaying the subordinate sex for sexual services. Where men rule, it is the way of men to reward women for their caresses, and the practice of course tends to degenerate into feminine prostitution. Where women rule, we find the obverse of this tendency; women reward men for the gifts of love.

"There is plain evidence that the position of predominance is the reason why men of the Men's State despise typically feminine tasks, and why women of the Women's State despise typically masculine tasks, for there is no refusal, in either case, when a member of the subordinate sex is asked to undertake some occupation usually regarded as appropriate to members of the dominant sex. On the contrary, in the Men's State women are proud when they can do men's work just as efficiently as the men. They do not consider that men's occupations are degrading; they feel that, as members of the subordinate sex, they are lifted by such occupations to the level of the dominant sex. We have, therefore, in such instances, nothing to do with a specificially feminine or masculine aptitude for some particular occupation. The determinative factor is sexual dominance. . . "

Jaeckel\* tells us that in Adel, a province of Abyssinia, the women did all the hard work while the men did what seems to us essentially the women's work. In Lapland a similar state of affairs existed.

In Thibet, according to M. and M. Vaerting, the women were the bread-winners. But perhaps one of the most historic accounts is that of the early Teutons which we have through Tacitus and others. We find here that not only did the women do all the work, the hunting, the tilling of the soil, and the up-keep of the house while the

<sup>\*</sup>V. Jaeckel, Studien zur vergleichenden Völkerkunde.

men idled and looked after the home, but the men had no authority over the women, and the husbands, according to Tacitus,\* had to provide a dowry in marriage, according consisted of cattle, a harnessed horse, a strong spear and sword and shield, and he states that the heirlooms, these weapons, pass only to the women. Thus the women of the Teutons practised the arts of war.

But not only amongst the Egyptians and the Teutons were the arts of war practised by women; in Libya, in Lunda on the Congo, in India under the queens of Nepal, only women soldiers were known. In Dahomey, the king had a body-guard consisting of warrior women, and these women were braver than any of his men warriors, and would reproach one another for cowardice or weakness with such a phrase as "You are a man", which is similar, though exactly the reverse, of statements with which our own soldiers would accuse another of cowardice by saying: "You are a woman."

In ancient Syria again the army consisted of both sexes, and this was not under the dominance of women but of men.

In the Persian army that attacked Athens, a woman was one of the chief generals.

The Vaertings tell us that the Gagers made extensive conquests, and that the army was led by a queen and consisted mainly of women, though men were not excluded from military service:

"Queen Tomyris, who slew Cyrus in war, had an army consisting of male and female warriors. Strabo declares that the women of the Indian courts were always trained to arms and fought beside the men. Dion Cassius, who wrote a century later than Tacitus, reports that in the days of the former there were queens both in Germany and in Britain who led their troops to battle."

<sup>\*</sup>Tacitus, Germania.

Dr Beatrice Hinkle\* also writes:

"My own observations among the Malays of the Phillippine Islands revealed to me an entirely different conception of the female sex than that with which we are familiar. They do not go to war, but they manage the finances of the family or group. Their judgment and advice are relied on by the men and there is no thought of their dependence or inferiority or any discussion of 'woman's place.' Compare this attitude," Dr Hinkle observes, "with the deep-rooted feeling of female inferiority which even the most determined feminist bears within, and which has nothing whatever to do with reason or intellectual argument, but is based on feelings born out of our collective valuation of the feminine sex."

\*" Arbitrary Use of the Terms 'Masculine' and 'Feminine'"

(Psychoanalytic Review, January, 1923).

<sup>†</sup>J. S. Mill as far back as 1869 saw very clearly the fundamental difficulty in dealing with these matters, in spite of the fact that psychology at that time had left them untouched. He says: "hence in regard to that most difficult question, what are the natural differences between the two sexes—a subject on which it is impossible in the present state of society to obtain complete and correct knowledge,—whilst everybody dogmatises upon it, almost all neglect and make light of the only means by which any partial insight can be obtained into it. This is an analytic study of the most important department of psychology, the laws of the influence of circumstance on character . . . The profoundest knowledge of the laws of the formation of character is indispensable to entitle any one to affirm even that there is any difference, much more what it is." (Subjection of Women).

#### SUMMARY OF CHAPTER II

I. There is of late years a growing feeling that the position woman holds in the ideas of mankind is based upon arbitrary factors, and there is almost continuously some sort of popular enquiry going on into this matter which for a large part, however, has a purely emotional basis rather than a basis of facts or science.

2. The fundamental question being raised is not the economic or political question of "woman's rights," but rather whether our conception of male and female characteristics

may or may not be absolutely wrong.

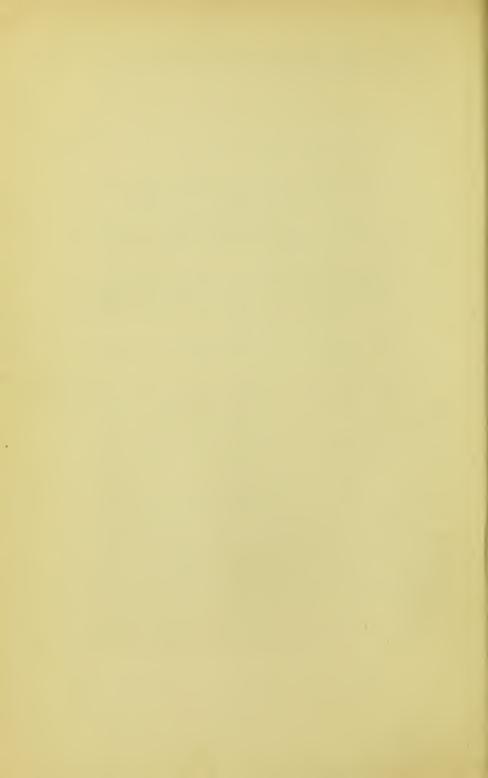
3. We see that in different parts of the world and at different periods, the conception of the relative characteristics of male

and female has been very different.

It is obvious from the historical material here gathered that women have at various times and in various places occupied positions which we have been accustomed to regard as masculine, and that under such conditions there has apparently been no difficulty in women assuming characteristics which we at present term masculine, while the men have equally assumed a so-called "feminine" rôle. If it does no more, this at least shakes our previously firm belief that the differences between men and women, in the spheres already discussed at any rate, are as great as we have learnt to accept.

4. It appears to be quite clear that in their occupations, men and women have been able to interchange their rôles successfully and that we cannot label occupations as mas-

culine or feminine.



#### CHAPTER III

THE FALSE CONCEPTION OF MASCULINE AND FEMININE
ATTRIBUTES—PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
CHARACTERISTICS

In the last chapter we considered feminine and masculine rôles in society quite broadly, and saw that women have at various times and places occupied positions and followed occupations which we are accustomed to regard as masculine, and that the reverse has held good with men; we saw also that occupation largely seems to be influenced by the consideration of social dominance. Women have gone to war successfully and have ruled countries, and men have been equally successful in home life. It now behoves us to examine a little more in detail some of the general characteristics which are commonly regarded as masculine and feminine.

These characteristics are commonly divided into two sets, primary and secondary. Primary characteristics of sex are those in which there is an obvious and fundamental difference, such as the possession of ovaries in the one sex and testicles in the other; the ability of the female to bear children and the inability of the male; the largeness of the breasts in the female, the smallness in the male. But even in the primary characteristics it will be observed that the difference is rather one of degree than of structure, for both male and female possess breasts, and the male breasts have been known to function. Several cases of this have recently been reported from Fiji. The functioning of the breast, however, is a secondary characteristic, for it depends upon certain chemical changes in the blood produced primarily in the ovaries and uterus.

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This leads us to consider secondary characteristics.

The secondary characteristics are those which are dependent upon the right functioning of primary characteristics, such as for instance, the one we have just quoted, the formation of milk in the breast. Amongst the important secondary physical characters are generally classed the phenomenon of menstruation in the female, the growth of hair on the face in the male, and the absence of it in the female; the deeper voice in the male, the more muscular development in the male, and deposit of more fat in the female, causing the appearance of rounded limbs as opposed to the muscular type of limb in the male.

Certain so-called secondary pyschic characteristics are commonly supposed to be dependent on the result of internal secretions connected with the glands of the genital organs, aggressiveness in the male, courage, sexual activity and logic. The male is a creative, independent being. Female secondary psychic characteristics include the opposite qualities of timidity, gentleness, chastity, perversity submissiveness and passivity. But as a matter of fact, the more we examine them, the less do we find they really belong to sex at all.

In many (though not all) of the lower forms of nature, the female is the larger and stronger animal; it is the aggressive animal; it is the hunting animal; and the weakness and timidity belong to the male.

There is for instance a female spider which, having selected its mate and attained its sexual desires, invariably proceeds to eat him, being three or four times his own size.

We have in a previous chapter seen that timidity is not necessarily a female characteristic, for there have been women soldiers in all ages all over the world. Recently, in Russia, regiments of women fought in the Great War. In the Chino-Japanese war, regiments of Chinese women fought sturdily and successfully.

It still remains for us to examine a little more closely, however, whether there is a physical weakness in women which is a true sex characteristic.

Numerous records even in modern times show that in certain parts of the world the women have not only been the physical equals of the men but have been superior to them in strength. Among the Papuans, the women as a rule are stronger and taller than the men. Havelock Ellis informs us that among the Andombis of the Congo the women have a splendid physique and are stronger and better developed than the men. In a large number of primitive tribes the women are not only stronger but taller than the men. Strabo\* tells us that the women of Gaul were taller than the men. Ammian confirms this and writes that "among the Gauls, the women were stronger than the men."†

Joseph Thomson states that among the Wateita, an East African people, the women are both stronger and taller than the men.

Fritsch says of the Bosjesmans that the women were on an average one-and-a-half inches taller than the men.

We have already seen in a previous chapter that the Teuton women were warriors, and must have been well-grown, for in ancient Teutonic tombs female skeletons have been found ranging up to seven feet in length.

All these facts show that under certain conditions we find a reversal of the relative strength and size of men and women. Hence such characteristics must depend not on sex but on some other factors. Exactly what these factors are we do not know, but it seems probable that sexual dominance here again plays a part; the dominant sex tends to grow strong and large.

Another factor may be the influence of heredity and

<sup>\*</sup>Geographica.

<sup>†</sup>Ammianus Marcellinus (Ammian), Rerum Gestarum Libri.

selection. The unconscious desire to preserve its power, which lies at the root of the attempt to obtain dominance, leads members of the sex which is in the position to make the sexual choice, to choose as mates smaller and weaker persons than themselves. This is likely to cause the chosen sex in the course of time to become smaller and weaker.\* Further, the sex which stays at home† and has the lighter muscular tasks will essentially not develop or retain its muscular strength in the same way as the one which undertakes more arduous physical labour.

M. and M. Vaerting suggest also a third factor, that during "childhood and youth when the growth of the body is taking place, the subordinate sex is not so well nourished as the dominant. Among ourselves to-day the belief is still current that females need less food than males. When this theory is translated into practice during the years of growth, the effect on the physique must be considerable." Again, the dominant sex looks upon the subordinate sex as being weaker and more fragile and prevents it on the ground of various superstitions from exercising the same freedom of movement and protects it from ordinary physical struggles to a large extent even in childhood.

But probably in a comparatively short time, if choice in marriage were based on different conceptions of what we required from the subordinate sex even as at present constituted, women would grow very much stronger and bigger. We have real evidence for such a statement as this in the work of Bolk,‡ who has shown that in so short a space as the last fifty years, there has been an increase of four inches in the average height of the Dutch.

<sup>\*</sup>This at least rests upon common assumption; but the evidence at present available in actual proof that the effect would be more marked upon the one sex than upon the whole race is very incomplete.

<sup>†</sup>This will vary according to the social class. †Bolk, in the Zeitschrift fur Morphologie und Anthropologie.

Somewhat similar causes probably affect the form of the limbs and the greater tendency to adipose deposit in women in modern times. Such tendency to adiposity may be influenced partly by the selection of persons who do not look strong and muscular, an appearance given by a covering of fat over the limbs,—and partly through the tendency to gain adipose tissue which is always present in those who take less exercise and stay at home. For those who stay at home have more leisure and rest,\* lead a less active life and have less anxiety, and we know that an anxious and arduous life produces a tendency to leanness.

Historically, a tendency has been observed in the subordinate sex, whichever it may be, to put on adipose tissue. In the East where the supremacy of men is unchallenged at the moment, the women on the whole become distinctly obese. But the reverse held good we are told among the Kamchadales in the days when the women held supremacy.

Waitz reports that the Eskimo men were inclined to fat and, among the Eskimo, men did the housework.

Strabo tells us of the Celtae that there must have been a marked tendency to obesity, for the men ran to fat and the youths had to attain a prescribed girth; and among the Celtae he also tells us the sexual division of labour was the reverse of that with which we are familiar.

It is certain, however, that adipose deposit does depend in some manner upon the internal secretions of the sexual glands, since the castration of adults leads to a deposit of fat on the abdomen, hips, breasts, and neck in the male while the experiments of Steinach† show that regrafting of the testicle removes this deposit of fat; and apparently

<sup>\*</sup>Again a matter of the social class. †See Norman Haire's Recent Development of Steinach's Work, 1923 (British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology).

the internal secretion of the ovary also produces a deposit of fat. But as the deposit of fat is a phenomenon of metabolism which is dependent also on the internal secretions of other glands, such as the thyroid, and the pituitary gland, it is impossible to attach very much significance to this sexual attribute, especially when we find a large number of men with otherwise masculine characteristics who possess deposits of fat in so-called feminine distributions, and a very large number of quite normal women in whom the commonly associated roundness of limb is absent.

A lady whom I knew some five or six years ago, of slim build but with the usual rounded appearance of the limbs associated with women, had been recommended by her physician to take up tennis and other forms of exercise. When I saw her again recently she said, "Look, my arms are just like a man's with playing tennis." And sure enough the rounded form had completely disappeared; the muscles stood out in bold relief in just the same way as do the muscles of a healthy athletic man. On observing the muscles of a considerable number of women who undertake physical work of any kind, I have noticed the same thing in many instances. Thus when we consider all the factors, negative and positive, which contribute to this fatty deposit, we are scarcely justified in regarding it as a definite secondary sexual characteristic.

In several of the wild carnivora there is no such difference between the sexes. That definite deposit of fat which occurs in the female breasts at puberty may perhaps however justly be called a secondary sexual characteristic. I refer above merely to the general deposit upon which roundness of limbs depends.

Nor is the growth of hair upon the face, or of hair associated with puberty to be wholly regarded as a true secondary sexual characteristic. It is true that castration of a

male causes the loss of the beard, the hair on the body and the limbs, and that after the menopause in the woman very frequently a growth of hair on the face is caused; and Lichtenstern has shown in one case at least that the transplantation of an undescended testicle from one patient into a castrated male led to the reappearance of hair on the face and body. But we know also that this same question of hair is also regulated very largely by the thyroid gland and even more perhaps by the adrenal gland. Geikie Cobb\* tells us: "The cortical cells are glandular

Geikie Cobb\* tells us: "The cortical cells are glandular structures, and appear to supply some secretion which influences the growth and reproductive powers of the individual. This has been demonstrated clinically, for cases are on record where tumours of the adrenal cortex have been found in cases where the characteristics of the opposite sex have developed; in one girl, quoted by Elliott, the menses ceased, a beard commenced to grow, and the body took on masculine characters."

The growth of the beard also appears to have a connection with the internal secretion of the testicles, but the relation is probably of an adventitious nature, having nothing to do with the sexual secretion itself. The cells of the sexual glands in both sexes (the testicles and ovaries) are derived embryologically from the same neighbourhood as the cortex of the adrenal gland, and as the testes and the ovaries descend they carry with them processes from this area, so that it seems probable that the adventitious parts are thus incorporated in the sexual glands. According to Elliott† there is reason to believe that portions of this area of the nature of the cortex of the adrenal gland are embedded in the sexual gland itself, in that they give rise to the lutein cells of the ovary and the interstitial cells of the testicles. If this be so, we can see why there is so

<sup>\*</sup>Geikie Cobb, The Organs of Internal Secretion. †Elliott, "The Practitioner," vol. XCIV, No. 1, p. 126.

much variability in the hair of the face, etc., not only of races but of individuals, for it would then vary according to the nature and amount of the incorporated material.

There is no necessary connection between sexual potency and the presence of hair on the body. Thus we find certain American races in whom there is no hair on the face of the men and yet sexual potency is undiminished. Cases approximating this not infrequently occur amongst individual Europeans. The same holds good of pubic hair, which we also regard as signifying sexual power. In certain Asiatic races adults of both sexes have no pubic hair, and their sexual activity is not in any way diminished. Again, another common idea, viz., that hair on the heads of women grows longer than men's and that this is a secondary sex characteristic is entirely erroneous. Amongst a large number of American Indians the men's hair if allowed to grow reaches to the feet. Among the Chinese, the length of the pigtail is in many cases proverbial; while we know that many European women who value so highly the erotic attraction of their hair complain that it will not grow, and indeed it frequently does not grow very much below the shoulder blades, however long it may be left unshorn.

## § 2

Among the secondary psychic characteristics certain of them, such as aggressiveness, activity, courage, and others are commonly associated with men, and timidity, emotionalism, passivity, submissiveness, chastity, desire for self-adornment and other ideas are associated with women. Unfortunately, as soon as we examine men and women psychologically, we find that they do not at all regularly fit into the formula. In analysis of a large number of persons of both sexes, it is rarely found that one can group

their secondary sexual characteristics according to any conventional standard. One meets with women of a thoroughly aggressive and energetic nature and with men possessing the passivity which is associated with women. In regard to sexual continence, one meets with very little of this in women in its true sense (this will be dealt with in a later chapter), and one meets certainly with as much among men. There is as much emotionalism in many men as there is in women.

Most of these "secondary psychic characteristics," indeed, are found not to pertain to either sex, as such. Moreover, various traits which we are in the habit of attributing to women are also associated with the child of either sex. In other words, many secondary feminine characteristics might psychologically be termed infantile characteristics. I shall return later to this point.

Recent experiments are sometimes cited to prove that psychic characters are the result of internal secretions.

Steinach\* has shown that by castrating young rats and grafting into them ovaries from female rats certain definite female characteristics were developed. The penis ceased to grow, the breasts and fur took the female type, the sexual desires of the creatures changed so that they were not attracted to the female as they would ordinarily have been, but were attracted to the male. Moreover, they now exercised a normal attraction over the males as females would do in the natural course of events, so that the normal males wooed them and attempted intercourse. A similar inverted process was produced by removing the ovaries from the female rat and transplanting testicles. In these experiments a certain psychic change took place, but that psychic change was limited so far as we can observe to the transposition of the direct normal attraction

<sup>\*</sup>Haire, Recent Developments of Steinach's Work, (British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology).

from one sex to the other, which does not take us very much further, since that is an obviously normal difference between the sexes. These experiments do not throw any light on the more generalized secondary characteristics which are under our observation here, though they show that some well-recognized sexual characteristics depend on internal secretions. Such experiments are of little value as applied to human beings, because mental factors in the human being have altered the means of sexual attraction at the present day so much as, I believe, to modify the normal instinct. The human imagination is brought into play and now exceeds in importance some of the primary instincts. There are often intellectual, moral and emotional elements in sexual attraction as a result of mental evolution, though I am not here alluding to these. Cases are however on record of men falling in love with other men who were dressed up as women and whom they thought to be women. A few years ago at Cambridge, a normal hetero-sexual man was for a joke introduced to an undergraduate who had been made up and dressed as a woman. He became thoroughly infatuated in the normal hetero-sexual manner. Apparently here the imagination completely over-ruled any normal sex instinct: the clothing and his own imagination alone stimulated the feelings of the victim of the practical joke.

Women who have been dressed in ordinary male clothes and have gone about the world without disclosing their sex have not been infrequent and these women aroused no sex feelings as far as one can see in the men with whom they came into contact. Joan of Arc, in Bernard Shaw's\* play, defends her male dress in a way which is quite correct historically and psychologically, as being adopted among the soldiers on the field and in her captivity, "so

<sup>\*</sup>G. Bernard Shaw, Saint Joan, 1924.

that they shall not think of me as a woman ".\* In other words, we have become so accustomed to use adventitious aids to the imagination to provoke sexual attraction that the normal instinct, which is not so strong, is overshadowed. In the case of the practical joke played by the undergraduate, the clothing and appearance seem to be everything.

Before leaving the question of psychic secondary characteristics, it is worth while to examine some of the operations which have been performed upon homo-sexual men with a view to making them normally hetero-sexual, because these operations are cited frequently as proof that timidity, passivity, nervousness and the so-called effeminate manner are in reality secondary sex characteristics.

I think I shall be able to show on examination of certain cases that they provide no evidence for anything of the kind.

Norman Haire gives several examples in his paper on Steinach's work. He describes one case in which the patient had been addicted to homo-sexual practices with short periods of attraction to women, and he describes him as "nervous and *effeminate* in manner. His appearance and speech were coquettish. When asked about his sexual life he blushed and cast down his eyes."

Lichtenstern transplanted a testicle in 1916. In 1917

<sup>\*</sup>The ecclesiastical tribunal continually urged her to return to her female dress on the ground of "modesty", which she steadily refused to do. It formed part of every list of accusations against her. On the day of her abjuration she renounced this dress and resumed the woman's. The day following, in prison, she was found to have again resumed male dress, saying that it was better and more decent to wear a man's dress when among men than a woman's. (She was a military prisoner). If they would allow her to receive Mass and take off her fetters and place her in a proper prison where she might have a woman with her, ("et qu'elle ait une femme"—the words are omitted in the final version of this interview), she would do the Church's will.—P. Champion, Proces de Condemnation de Jeanne d'Arc, II, pp. 288-9.

the patient married, and the male secondary physical characteristics developed. That is to say, he became less fat, the pubic hair became coarser and thicker, and hair appeared on his breasts; the moustache grew and the muscles appeared better developed. In this case, the patient was a homo-sexual man of the invert type; that is to say, the patient was not an active homo-sexual but a passive one who desired to take the place of the woman. It is quite likely in these cases that there is an actual hormone deficiency, but since the patient did not possess ovaries he can hardly have possessed any of the so-called feminine hormones (chemical constituents) which create socalled feminine characteristics! However, the deficiency of any gland is likely to cause, as we know, some of the characteristics mentioned. For instance, pituitary deficiencies cause a lack of pubic hair, a small penis, undeveloped genital organs generally, and an infantile condition of mind.

I have recently cured a boy in this condition by means of twenty grains of pituitary and two grains of thyroid daily. The pubic hair grew, the fat disappeared, the so-called feminine breasts which he possessed disappeared; in fact, the condition was physically very like that of the homo-sexual patient mentioned by Haire, except that it was more exaggerated, and in my case was cured not by testicular glands but by pituitary extract.

When, however, we come to consider the psychic characteristics which Haire calls feminine, we find that in actual fact such psychic characteristics are found in a very large number of active homo-sexuals as well as passive ones. Moreover, and this is the important point, we find that under psycho-analysis these so-called feminine characteristics frequently disappear without any glandular extract being administered. We find moreover the cause of these characteristics.

If a man feel himself to be abnormal in any way in connection with his sexual potency, if he suffer from a strong phallic complex (of which hereafter), whether his feeling of abnormality is conscious or unconscious, he suffers from the feeling of inferiority. This feeling of inferiority, especially of sexual inferiority, whether it is real or imaginary, invariably causes reactions, amongst which we commonly find nervousness and so-called effeminate manner, blushing, etc., etc.

With regard to the cures which do undoubtedly take place in homo-sexual men by the grafting of testicles I may suggest two points: in the invert homo-sexual, it is quite possible that we are adding a hormone or other internal secretion which is necessary to the adult's physical development, but quite apart from this, in the active homo-sexual, the man who is attracted by men, but who desires to play the part of a man towards them, the cures quoted by Lichtenstern probably have a different meaning.

In the first place, the addition in both cases of a healthy, virile testicle will act as a most potent form of suggestion, and a patient suffering from feelings of inferiority would have his expectations aroused, would have a suggestion given to him by the operation that he was no longer inferior, and his psychic characteristics would be likely to change rapidly as a result of this; in the case of the invert homo-sexual the effect also would be further accentuated by suggestions obtained from the observation that his physical characteristics were changing. We know that most active homo-sexual men are not nearly so difficult to deal with as inverted homo-sexual men. The majority of them have a considerable hetero-sexual tendency present as well. Under psycho-analysis, while the invert homo-sexual is but little changed as a rule, the active homo-sexual is frequently radically changed. I

have nearly always under treatment one patient or another who is psychically an active homo-sexual although restraint is placed upon his actual sexual activities. In most of these instances, the patients have so-called feminine characteristics, and these characteristics change under a purely psychic form of treatment. In other words, what Haire thinks are feminine psychic characteristics are really the manifestation of a complex in which the feelings of inferiority of one kind or another play the chief part.

In another case quoted by Dr Haire, the patient was operated on by Dr Eylenburg by the grafting of a normal testicle. In January, 1921, soon after the operation, the patient noticed that he was becoming hetero-sexual, but in June, 1921, the statement is made that the "homosexuality has reappeared in this patient. The operation has not been successful." Haire quotes here, "the failure of this case is not difficult to understand. Since the testicles of the homo-sexual are in some way abnormal, and exert an abnormal effect on the owner, it will be necessary to remove both of them in order to get rid of their pernicious influence, before attempting to change the direction of the patient's sexual desire by grafting a testicle from a normal man."

In this case only one testicle was removed. Haire goes on to say, however, that success may in some cases be obtained by the removal of only one testicle before the graft. Haire, however, neglects altogether in this case to deal with the psychic element. There is a tendency to assume here the homo-sexual activity is caused in this case, not by absence of the normal testicular hormone but by the presence of a secretion from an abnormal gland, which requires removal, a theory which is rather difficult to fit in with the fact that in the previous cases cited the reverse is given as the cause. The probability really was that the

psychic constitution of this patient was too strong for the suggestions implanted by the operation of testicle grafting.

Haire does not take into account a fact of considerable psychological importance, viz. that the mere transference of one's sexual activities from a person of one's own sex to a person of the other sex does not really of necessity constitute a change of hetero-sexuality. In many instances it is quite definitely shown that psychic homo-sexuality may still in certain cases exist between two persons of the opposite sex without interfering with their hetero-sexual function.

I do not wish to lay too much stress on these points, but I do wish to show quite clearly that since many active homo-sexual men and women are cured by psycho-analysis and even sometimes helped by simple suggestion, it is obvious that no assumption can be made that there is of necessity:

- (a) an abnormality of internal secretion in all cases;
- (b) a replacement of hormones even in such cases as do clear up after grafting operations;
- (c) a connection between psychic attributes of the nature of timidity, nervousness, or bashfulness and internal secretions.

If we were to assume that homo-sexuality is in most cases merely due to the internal secretions of the sex glands, then we must assume also that abnormalities of internal secretions are enormously prevalent among women; for if the reader will refer to my analysis (quoted in the next chapter) of the prevalency of homo-sexuality among women or in fact to any book on modern psychology which deals with the subject, this will be self-evident; and one may add that homo-sexuality in women is even more readily dealt with under analysis in most cases than tendencies to active homo-sexuality amongst men.



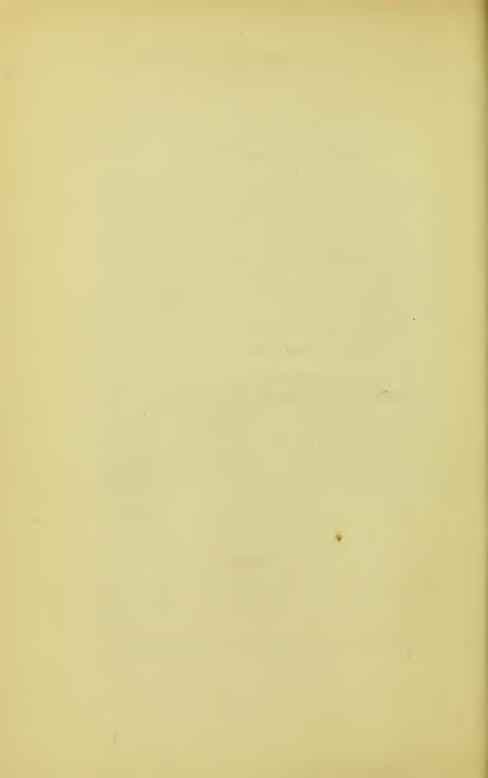
That the testicles and ovaries cannot of themselves be responsible for all the so-called secondary characteristics was pointed out very clearly many years ago by that well-known physiologist Dr Harry Campbell,\* at a time when historical and psychological evidences were not even available to assist in his conclusions. He writes:

"Although the rivalry is almost always between the males for the females, vet, as already observed, matters are sometimes reversed, the female competing for the male. Notably is this the case with certain birds, and the instances are very interesting, because affording convincing proof that the secondary sexual characters of the male are largely due to sexual selection, for with such "polyandrous" birds we find that the female is endowed with all the secondary characters of the polygamous male: she is the more beautiful, the more courageous, the more pugnacious. We thus see that some of the most prominent secondary sexual characters are in a manner accidental.—I mean that they are not absolutely and inevitably necessary: matters might have been otherwise. This is an important fact; it shows that woman is not what she is, and man is not what he is, simply because the one has ovaries and a uterus and the other testicles; and it at least strongly suggests that all the secondary sexual characters in man and woman might be transposed —that the strength, courage, and fire of the man might be transferred to the woman and the weakness and timidity of the woman to the man." From these observations it will be readily seen that the evidence adduced from operative procedure to support the idea that passivity, timidity, bashfulness, etc., are feminine psychic characteristics, does not in reality prove this. And we shall proceed shortly to give further positive evidence to the contrary.

<sup>\*</sup>Differences in the Nervous Organisation of Man and Woman, Physiological and Pathological, by Harry Campbell.

#### SUMMARY OF CHAPTER III

- I. Many of the secondary characteristics of a physical kind which have been regarded as belonging to the male or female sex have been shown to be not nearly so distinctive as has been expressed. They depend as much on other internal secretions as on those associated with the sexual glands. Evidence tends to show that many of these so-called secondary characteristics, such as the general deposition of fat, muscular strength, and so forth, are probably of an adventitious nature and depend upon other factors more than on the sexual glands.
- 2. Historically this is confirmed, since in many races, both past and present, women have been stronger and bigger than men.
- 3. Many psychic characteristics have also been shown not to belong to sex as secondary characteristics, but to be reducible to feelings of inferiority and other causes, and we have again seen both historically and experimentally such characteristics as timidity, emotionalism, submissiveness, etc., which we have previously associated with women may be equally associated with men and belong to environment and period rather than to sex.



# CHAPTER IV

THE FALSE CONCEPTIONS OF MASCULINE AND FEMININE ATTRIBUTES; PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS (cont.)

It now remains to consider differences in such matters as the desire for self-adornment, or methods of dressing the hair, and also to examine some social habits which are often taken for granted, as they are assumed to follow from the secondary characteristics just considered. might call them tertiary characteristics of sex. assert that there are no secondary characteristics, but that we have thoroughly exaggerated the importance of those that do exist, and we add some that do not. We get into the way of regarding women as a whole, as one type of humanity, and men taken as a whole as another type; each with a set of distinct qualities and attributes; and yet it is quite within the common experience of daily life to find many facts which do not fit in at all with this classification if only our cherished beliefs on the subject, so closely connected with our pleasures, did not prevent us from observing these and what they indicate; namely that our belief on the subject is wrong.

The classification is quite arbitrary, based upon what we should like to see in each sex, and by no means upon what really is in women and what really is in men. The habit of regarding men and women as if they represented different types of human psychology is, first of all incorrect and misleading, it is socially disadvantageous in various ways, and is besides a cause of very much misunderstanding and even unhappiness, of which people do not understand the reason.

The differences are fostered and upheld by suggestion and early training because of tradition and because they minister to pleasure; yet the more these artificial differences are studied and reduced to their elements the less fundamental they are seen to be. The more men and women are studied psychologically, the more it is found that the characteristics we have been discussing are distributed among them regardless of sex.

At a later stage I will attempt to show in what manner the so-called masculine and feminine characteristics are developed and fostered. We will leave also the characteristic of modesty as well as woman's chastity and her real sexual life to a later chapter.

Let us now turn first to self-adornment and the "passivity" of women.

The desire for personal adornment may be found among men. In the islands of the Pacific, many instances will be found of men who delight in adorning themselves as much as the women. The adornment is frequently fantastic in our eyes, as in the case of many other native tribes, and may even consist in self-mutilation, but it is considered attractive.

Moreover the desire is not universal even among civilised women. We may find quite a large number of women to-day in whom we discover no desire for personal adornment at all. It is true that they conform to the fashions around them, but not so much from the desire to decorate themselves as from the fear of being thought peculiar if they do not do so.

As a rule we discover that such women as this lack other infantile traits common to the majority of women, and

we have been in the habit of classifying some of them by that badly chosen adjective "masculine".

If we turn to the history of costume, we shall soon see that the dress of the two sexes has varied from time to time in our own country with the political and economic situation.

The dress of men has tended, if the wearers were rich enough, to be more sumptuous than that of women.\*

About the reign of Henry II men, if they were rich enough, inclined to silks woven with gold thread, cloaks lined with magnificient furs and even jewelled gloves, while women's dress was comparatively plain and demure in manner.

In the fourteenth century, which was a time of great luxury and extravagance on the part of the upper and noble classes, the fashions of both sexes show diversity and elaboration, but that the expenditure of the men on the whole exceeded that for the women's dress appears by the laws regulating it about that time. In the reign of Richard II women's costume was adapted from the existing fashion of the men. For riding she was habited exactly like the men and rode astride. In the early part of the 16th century, in the reign of Henry VIII, the designs and fashions of the dress of women were not nearly so attractive as those of the men, who wore ornamented brocades embroidered in a variety of extravagant fashions. Until the reign of Henry VIII, gentlemen of fashion wore their hair long, but about that time short hair began to come into fashion at court. Women's gowns were simple in cut, but gentlemen of fashion wore a long and graceful gown reaching nearly to the ground, with a wide collar open nearly to the waist, showing the

<sup>\*</sup>T. Wright, Womankind in Western Europe; Domestic Manners and Customs, p. 94 passim; see also E. Wingfield, an essay on Civil Costume in England and the Encyclopedia Britannica article on Costume with works there given.

waistcoat ornamented with gay stitching and finely gathered at the neck with ribbons.

Let us take a later example still. Beautifully as they dressed, the women of Charles II's time were not so extravagant as the men, nor as a matter of fact were they until the 19th century.

An instance from Pepys' *Diary* will illustrate the point, for the reign of Charles II.\*

Pepys tells us of this reign in his diary:

"This morning came home my fine camlet cloak, with gold buttons and a silk suit which costs me much money and I pray to God to make me able to pay for it". . . "To my great sorrow find myself £43 worse than I was last month, which was then £760 and now is £717. But it has chiefly arisen from my layings out in my clothes for myself and my wife—namely, for her about £12, and for myself about £53 or thereabouts; having made myself a velvet cloak, two new cloth suits, black, plain both; a new shag gown trimmed with gold buttons and twist, with a new hat, and silk tops for my legs, and many other things, being resolved henceforward to go like myself: and also two new periwigs, one whereof cost me £3, and the other 40s. I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing. . ."

And his comments on certain ladies who dressed exactly like the men show his ideas that the ornamentation of men's dress was prettier and more extravagant than that which women wore normally. Here is another extract on this subject:

"To Hampton Court where I saw the king and queen set out towards Salisbury, and after them the Duke and Duchess whose hands I did kiss; and it was the first time I did ever, or did see anybody else, kiss her hand, and it

<sup>\*</sup>The Diary of Samuel Pepys: July 1st. 1660 and Oct. 30th, 1663 edited by Wheatley (1923), I, p. 277; III, p. 303.

was a fine white and fat hand. But it was pretty to see the young pretty ladies dress like men in vivid coats, caps with ribbons and with laced bands, just like men."\*

As a further example—in the time of Queen Anne—let us take this description of Lord Bolingbroke:

"He was dressed in the extremity of fashion, and wore a light blue velvet coat with huge cuffs richly broidered in silver, amber stockings, crimson shoes fastened with diamond buckles; a diamond hilted sword with a long silk tassel dangling from the handle. His cravat was of point lace. His hands were hidden by exaggerated ruffles of the same costly material. His hat was laced with silver and he wore his own brown hair in ringlets twenty inches long tied with a long red ribbon. He diffused around him an odour as he walked as if he had just arisen out of a bed of roses."

Beside this resplendence, that dress of Mistress Pepys at church, "her green petticoat of flowered satin with fine white and gimp lace of her own putting on, which is very pretty," sinks into insignificance.;

Let me, however, once more quote M. and M. Vaerting

on the subject :§

"To-day the love of finery and the fondness for self-adornment are looked upon as specifically feminine. It is regarded as unquestionable that they are manifestations of an inborn peculiarity of women. Runge is merely expressing the universal opinion of his contemporaries when he writes: "Women's love of adornment and her inclination to coquetry are manifestations of the sexual life."

M. and M. Vaerting consider that "the tendency to adornment and the inclination to wear finery, and there-

<sup>\*</sup>op. cit., July 27th, 1665. V. p 27. †Wingfield, op. cit. ‡Pepys, II, 254 (29th June, 1662) \$M. & M. Vaerting, op. cit.

with sexual differentiation in hair-dressing and costume are profoundly affected by mono-sexual dominance.

"In ancient Egypt the love of adornment was masculine, not a feminine, trait. Erman\* writes: "Whereas to us it seems appropriate that women, not men, should be fond of self-adornment, the ancient Egyptians would appear to have been of the opposite way of thinking. The fashions in men's clothing were greatly diversified, but women's dress remained strangely uniform throughout the ages. From the Fourth Dynasty to the Eighteenth, the women of Egypt, princess and peasant woman alike, continued to wear the same sort of dress—a simple garment without folds." We learn from Herodotus that in his day the men of Egypt had two suits, but that the women had only one. This remarkable simplicity of women's dress, and the fondness of men for self-adornment, seem inexplicable to Erman, for they conflict so directly with our own experience of sex characteristics, and the influence of mono-sexual dominance was unknown to him.

"The dress of the women of ancient Egypt was identical for all classes. Among ourselves to-day we find a similar uniformity of dress in the case of the men of all classes. So remarkable is the identity of masculine dress throughout all social strata of modern society that we are entitled to speak of "man's dress" without qualification as uniform in type.

"Uniformity of appearance extends in the case of the dominant sex to the manner of dressing the hair as well as to the clothing. To-day, nearly all men wear their hair in the same fashion. In Sparta a like uniformity in the matter of hair-dressing prevailed among women, who were the dominant sex. But whereas among our men the mode of hairdressing is regulated by unwritten laws only, in the case of the Spartan women it was formally prescribed by written laws.

<sup>\*</sup>Erman, A., Life in Ancient Egypt, Eng. Trans., 1894.

"A fondness in men for self-adornment, and a tendency on the part of women towards simplicity and uniformity in dress, are reported in the case of other peoples besides the ancient Egyptians. Such a reversal of the trends and customs of our own civilization was marked among the Libvans. We have already noted that in Libva the dominance of women was absolute. Strabo\* relates that the men of Libva delighted in the care of their bodies. They curled the hair and the beard, wore plenty of gold ornaments, and were diligent in the care of the teeth and the finger-nails. "The men dress their hair in so artificial a fashion", writes Strabo, "that when they are on an excursion they are rarely seen to touch one another, for fear of disarranging their coiffure." The reader is involuntarily reminded of the extremes of artificiality in women's head-dressing, such as are preserved in pictures dating from the most diverse epochs of masculine dominance. Westermarck\* tells us that among the Khonds, where the women rule, the men wear their hair long, and spend much time dressing it. The men of Tanna, in the New Hebrides, wear their hair "twelve and eighteen inches long, and have it divided into some six or seven hundred little locks or tresses". Some of the North American Indians wear their hair so long that it reaches to the feet. The Latuka men have an elaborate coiffure, and the hair takes ten years to reach its full length. Pliny relates of the ancient Teutons that the men in especial were wont to dve their hair.

"We may presume that the inclination towards selfadornment displayed by members of the subordinate sex, and the tendency of members of the dominant sex to dispense with ornaments and to wear drab clothing, are both intimately connected with the sexual division of

<sup>\*</sup>op. cit.

labour. Those who belong to the sex which works in the home have more time and opportunity for self-adornment than those who belong to the sex which works away from home. The arts of the toilet become a pastime. But there is a supplementary factor which strengthens the pleasure and the interest in this pastime. Leisure increases erotic susceptibility. Since the members of the other sex have less leisure, the pent-up erotic passion of the home-keeping sex seeks an outlet in the practice of bodily adornment—which was primitively regarded (and is unquestionably still regarded to-day) as a preparatory love-act. There may also contribute an impulse accentuated by the heightened sensuality, the impulse to please the members of the other sex who are the objects of sexual desire.

"This is why we find to-day the women who have most leisure and least work are those who devote most time to care of the body and to its adornment. On the other hand, the members of the sex that is predominantly occupied in extra-domestic concerns lacks both time and inclination for self-adornment. In the latter, too, generally speaking, the impulse to exert a sexual attraction upon members of the opposite sex tends to pass into abeyance. The more absolute the dominion of one of the sexes, the more vigorously does it maintain its monopoly of extra-domestic avocations. As a consequence, it becomes increasingly over-burdened with work, with a concomitant decrease in leisure and a decline in interest for superficial sexual matters. Herewith the main motives for bodily adornment disappear, and its practice tends to be discarded as superfluous and as merely a nuisance.

"Dress is simplified as much as possible. This simplification is the basis of the prevalent uniformity. For, first of all, the trend towards simplification affects the majority of the dominant sex, seeing that the overwhelming

majority is engaged in extra-domestic avocations, and has therefore to work very hard and with little leisure. Furthermore, the less energetic and diligent members of the dominant sex, those who might retain the inclination to self-adornment, have little or no influence, inasmuch as their lack of industry makes it impossible for them to win possessions and power. Those who devote their energies to work, and pay little heed to dress, have the best chances of gaining influential positions. These, therefore, are the persons most imitated; it is they who set the standard in matters of appearance. To the effects of the imitative impulse are super-added the effects of pressure from above in the direction of uniformity. It is in the interest of the influential to deprive those who are less powerful of the sexual advantages which these might derive from neglecting work for bodily adornment. This is why the stamp of uniformity is impressed upon the younger members of the dominant sex; this is why the young are compelled to assimilate themselves in appearance to the old."

The types of dress themselves now considered by us "masculine" or "feminine" are purely arbitrary. We are accustomed to regard the skirt as a typical article of feminine clothing, and yet the type of garment worn may change completely within a comparatively short period of time. A few hundred years ago long skirted robes were worn by both sexes, skirted robes were worn by European men as the ordinary dress on many occasions, for centuries. It has been discarded for convenience. There is a psychological reason why women in Europe have clung to this skirt, which appears to be associated with one of their major complexes, a matter into which we will go in more detail at a later stage. The skirt is not a distinctive feminine garment everywhere. In China, the case is reversed; the unmarried women, at all events, wear trousers, while the men wear the long skirt or robe.

We will turn now to social customs and theories which depend on woman's supposed character of passivity.

Let us see whether passivity is natural to women, in the affairs of love, even as things are at present.

Let me first quote Dr Beatrice Hinkle:\*

"No greater fallacy has ever been perpetrated than that women are passive in love and men the active wooers. Indeed, great literature is full of examples which give the lie to its notion. Shakespeare's women appear as anything but passive creatures; Miranda and Juliet have no hesitation in declaring their love and demanding marriage; the Arabian Nights are full of women who are the choosers instead of the chosen. A good modern example is Ann in Bernard Shaw's Man and Superman. Besides this the courtship customs of many primitive tribes make the women the wooers, while the sexual freedom which they enjoy is the same which in our civilisation is the exclusive privilege of the male."

We have already seen that woman was in many states the predominant figure in marriage; it now remains for us to show that under those conditions she was also the active wooer. In medieval feudal romance there is abundant evidence that women frequently took the initiative in love-making and Wright says: "This was carried to a degree which is quite startling."† In ancient Egypt, love-poems which have been recently discovered prove that the woman courted the man. In fifteen of the nineteen songs of the so-called London manuscripts this is the case.‡ Among the Libyans, under female dominance, the same invariably holds good. Among the ancient Teutons, again we find that women were the wooers; the early poets were mostly feminine, and their songs were of active love-making towards the male. Gradually, however, as

<sup>\*</sup>Dr Beatrice Hinkle, in the Psycho-Analytical Journal, Jan. 1923. †T. Wright, op. cit. ‡The Dominant Sex.

woman dominance here was superseded by male dominance, this state of affairs changed until in the ninth century we actually find the clergy censuring these women's songs as immoral. C. Meiners says of the Spartans that "Under Lycurgus the position of girls and wives was reversed; they acted as do our young men in marriage and sexual matters."\*

Jaeckel† mentions an Indian tribe in Assam in which the male is courted and "has to make a vigorous resistance culminating in flight. He is captured and led back to the nuptial residence amid the lamentations of the

parents."

Westermarck tells us that among the Garos, possibly the same tribe which Jaeckel refers to, where women were dominant, there was a legal obligation for the girls to be the active wooers, and if a man played that part he was subjected to punishment for shameless behaviour.

Seligmann tells us that in a large number of Melanesian States it is customary for the women to propose marriage or to be otherwise active in sexual matters. For instance, in reference to the Marshall Bennett Islands! he states: "As is usual in the South Eastern districts, courtship consists of a more or less prolonged co-habitation; the marriage proposal apparently always comes from the girl."

Again he tells us of another tribe, "marriage never took place within the clan and connection was avoided as much as possible, but if a girl was particularly amorous and worried a man, he might sleep with her once or twice." In this he again clearly expresses the idea that sexual initiative emanated from the female.

M. and M. Vaerting§ have given a profusion of evidence on the subject as follows; "An interesting psychological

<sup>\*</sup>C. Meiners Geschichte des weiblichen Geschlechts. † Jaeckel (V.), Studien zur vergleichenden Völkerkunde. ‡Seligmann (C. G.) Melanesians of British New Guinea, p. 709 §op. cit.

point is that when in a Women's State women are the wooers, we encounter once again the individual customs that are characteristic of male wooers in a Men's State, this ranging from the making of assignations to the use of such stimuli as wine and narcotics. Typically and psychologically significant is the fact that when women are the wooers men are reported to behave in the way that it is considered proper for women to behave to-day when men are the wooers. . . . The very qualities we regard to-day as specifically masculine are regarded in the Women's State as specifically feminine; conversely, qualities that we look upon as womanly are in the Women's State looked upon as manly. . . . . We see that the ruling sex, whether male or female, is never so firmly convinced of the other's natural disposition towards obedience as to trust to the voice of nature in such a matter. Invariably, the law is invoked to make up by its aid for the deficiencies of nature."

"We notice also that in Sparta the women took the men's place in the aggressive way in another manner. The Spartan women introduced polyandry as a preventive of over population, and if a married woman chose, she was allowed to have other lovers as well as her husband without any disgrace attaching to her. This however was not the case with the men."

In affairs of the world, the evidence goes to show that in business and in war women have frequently taken the active and aggressive part. We have quoted already the modern examples of the Chinese and the Russian women who formed regiments and went out to war and performed valorous actions with as much ardour as the men. We called them "masculine" women because they did not fit into the particular type which we commonly label as feminine. I may content myself with a very few more

<sup>\*</sup>Schulte-Vaerting, Die Friedens-Politik des Perikles.

examples here. To take one from our own country, Oueen Elizabeth laid the foundation of our national freedom alike by her wars, intrigues and statesmanship. Elizabeth of Russia delighted in war. The legends of Semiramis describe her as a great conqueror. The Frankish Queen, Brunhilde, led her people for over half a century through murder and blood; Zenobia, wife of Odenathus of Palmyra, was co-ruler during her husband's lifetime, and after his death was monarch of a realm embracing Syria and most of the provinces of Asia Minor. The Emperor Aurelian said of her, "This woman was such a terror to all the nations of the east of Egypt that the Arabs, the Saracens, and the Armenians were afraid to move a finger." The examples might be indefinitely multiplied of women who have played a famous or infamous, at any rate an active, part in affairs, not merely of state.

Another aspect of this question is the prevailing idea that if women attain any measure of political power the tendency to war will be less, on account of their supposed pacific disposition. Benjamin Kidd for instance, in a little book called The Science of Power, sees in the dominance of women the only prospect of a lasting peace. Foerster says\*: "The male spirit is obsessed with the ancient traditions of battle, but women are free from this burden. Women therefore are more fitted than men to practice the sublime art of maintaining peace." Unfortunately, history shows that this idea is incorrect. Tendencies to war and peace in society depend on psychological factors quite other than questions of sex, leaving aside the factors of population, economics or race. The tendency to combativeness is neither male nor female. It may be suggested, however, that the subordinate sex always shows these desires for peace, but as the

<sup>\*</sup> Foerster, Politische Ethik.

subordinate sex becomes dominant in turn, it also becomes bellicose. It is only when she is subordinate and is striving for equality that woman shows desire for peace, but possibly in a state of sexual equality peace might be likely from a psychological point of view.

Let me quote again a few paragraphs from Dr Beatrice Hinkle's paper which we previously mentioned, and which displays many of these ideas in a very excellent form:

"I think it does not need much power of observation to determine that the people of the real world fail utterly to be so grouped, and the terms male and female do not signify anything more fundamental than the character of the physical organism. How far, and in what direction, that affects the mental and psychic sphere is yet to be determined, and can only be known with any certainty when the tradition of woman's inferiority has completely disappeared and the children of both sexes are given the same training and freedom, with the same privileges and responsibilities. Not until then will there be any real opportunity to find what are the actual distinctions between the sexes other than their biological ones.

"One has only to study nature in her lower forms to realise that there is no fixity even there of the secondary sexual characteristics, but that as the environment changes, and the conditions of life alter, the supposed distinctive character of male and female changes its form. . .

"As I dealt intimately with increasing numbers of men, I was constantly surprised to find the same reactions and tendencies in men as were supposed to be the sole possession of women. Men were timid instead of aggressive, they were passive instead of active, were emotional, were clinging, and frequently really desired to be ruled and to be submissive instead of to rule. Most astonishing of all, their minds were illogical: they had sensitive organisms and were fine in their tastes; and, in fact, I found

repeatedly all the characteristics supposed to be the exclusive property of the female. Frequently these tendencies were well concealed, so that externally the individuals would appear to be quite other than what they actually were, for to the man with the so-called feminine nature, it is a painful piece of knowledge to possess, and the mechanism of repression acts with this as it does with all other painful facts which invade consciousness.

"This condition appeared so frequently among my patients, as well as its opposite—the possession by the woman of the so-called masculine traits,—that I could only think that these were neurotic people and therefore do not represent the average normal individuals. But as the years went by the character of my work changed considerably, and from being consulted simply as a physician for the sick, the individuals who came to me were more and more just the ordinary so-called normal people, coming, not because they were sick, but because some particular difficulty in life had arisen for which they wished some psychological understanding or they wanted to understand their own motivations and inadequacies, or to increase their efficiency or to solve more wisely some immediate problem confronting them. All these could be justly called average or normal persons. Among these people I found just the same conditions, a mixture of socalled masculine and feminine characteristics distributed with no apparent regard for the physical organs.

"Besides this actual condition, I saw the bad effects of the efforts of these individuals to live up to the collective conception of what should be their re-actions according to their organs. Because an individual had male organs he must then be a fighting male, courageous, aggressive, etc., in order to feel self-respect and hold up his head among his fellows. . . . However, instead of this he was actually peaceful, sensitive and hated fighting. It is not difficult to realise with what an expenditure of effort the unnatural attitude was assumed, and how inadequate such an individual would be rendered. His own individual values were hidden and discounted and he attempted to live under a valuation which did not belong to him. The same unfortunate condition is found in regard to women. Many capable executive women, possessing the so-called masculine reactions, are in constant conflict with the collective conception of women.

"However, strip the mask away and relieve them of the inner bondage to tradition, the unconscious reactions acquired through ages of necessity, and it will be revealed that the fundamental mental and psychic distinctions postulated as fixed between men and women are much

less determined by sex than by type.

"It is this large and very intimate experience with the lives of men and women that has forced me away from thinking of people according to sex and to the substitution of type instead. Therefore, when an individual consults me, my collective classification is not sexual, but is determined by the answer to my mental question, 'To what

type does he or she belong?'. . .

"... No more excellent and laughable example of this can be found than that common sight of a big woman with a little husband upon whom she calls for protection. An example of this sort was exhibited at my country home a few days ago. The chief of my kitchen is a big dominating woman weighing nearly 200 pounds. Her husband, who is really her appendage and lives happily in entire submission and accord to her will, is a small, slight man, not more than half her size and strength. I was attracted by her call of 'John! John! come here' and looking out, saw the turkey gobbler strutting in front of her in a menacing attitude. John, true to his tradition, ran to her support, although as a matter of capacity and

ability, she could cope well with two creatures of this size, and certainly was far more capable of defending herself than was the weak, small man to whom she appealed; but so strong is the force of tradition and the power of the symbol, that she must needs appeal for aid in the old time-honoured way.

"My plea for women to cease thinking of themselves and of men also, in terms of sex and to substitute type in its place, has for its aim to shift more quickly the false ideas regarding feminine and masculine qualities into their real place, that of type, and thus to aid in overcoming the bondage of an old tradition."

Here let me change Dr Hinkle's phrases slightly. So fixed, she suggests, in the popular mind is the idea of a masculine type which is synonomous with freedom and opportunity and a feminine with bondage and limitations that it seems futile to try to change that by any direct attack. She gives another amusing and striking example of the strength of the conceptions:

"A little girl of three years was brought to me by her mother because for some months she has asserted her independence by refusing to wear girl's clothes. Six months previously in an unfortunate moment she had been given little trousers to wear, and from that time she has by no bribes or coaxing, punishment or any other method used by the distracted mother, been induced to resume her dresses. A boy she will be as long as trousers can make her so.

"It is only when individuals are free that the feminine and masculine principles can be examined and fairly studied. Looking deeply into the problem, there would seem to be some very great meaning or significance in the age-long oppression of women and the insistence of the masculine portion of humanity on women's inferiority as a class."

Dr Hinkle, as we have just seen, suggests that the idea of character-type might replace the common sex-type classification which is so misleading.

In the paper from which I have quoted she had in mind one of the broad differences which anyone may observe between individuals according to the way in which they usually react to their environment. There is the man whose interests are immediately engaged in whatever is going on about him; he responds to a situation spontaneously; the world about him, whether of affairs or sport or society is his natural sphere; if he is a scientist or is intellectually developed, he will very probably prefer facts to principles. He stands in contrast to the man who on the whole tends to prefer reflection to action; who responds best to a situation which he has thought out and understands: if he has to act on the spur of the moment he may be less effective; he is the person who remembers after the event what would have been the best thing to do or say. He frequently has to a marked extent an "inner life," but his reserves of energy are often a driving force in affairs.

It was Dr Jung who invented the names of "extraversion" and "introversion" to express the habitual flow of the psychic energy which results in character-types of this contrasting kind: but even in passing we must note the incompleteness of our present characterization, and that not only are these forms of reaction and resulting character-type found in both men and women, but both forms of reaction are found in the same individual at different times; they do not correspond to the so-called "masculine" and "feminine" types. I mention them here merely to illustrate the fact that we can regard individuals from quite other standpoints than that of sex, not because we shall adopt these particular standpoints. Dr Jung himself, as some readers will be aware,

no longer regards the so-called "introvert" and "extrovert" as fundamental psychological types.

So-called masculine and feminine traits are discovered as we have seen, not only in members of both the sexes, but in the same individual, and the fact is expressed by saying that individuals are bi-sexual; that is each individual possesses qualities of both sexes. Sex in itself, therefore, does not give grounds for any psychological types.

## SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

- I. Many mental characteristics commonly classified as masculine or feminine are found in individuals of either sex without distinction.
- 2. Self-decoration is not a feminine attribute. At various times and in various places men have exhibited more tendency to this than the women of their time.
- 3. Passivity either in love or in practical affairs is again not a feminine characteristic, examples are scattered through present time and past history which show that the love-making and wooing may be active on the part of the female and passive on the part of the male.
- 4. Difference of sex should not be confused with differences of mental type.

### CHAPTER V

#### BI-SEXUALITY AND NORMAL SEX EVOLUTION

It will now help us to understand the problem more thoroughly if we consider next the bi-sexuality of all human beings, and that may best be done perhaps by tracing shortly a number of different stages of the evolution of sex.

In every individual, let it be understood first of all, some of the organs of both sexes are present in various stages of development: this is most marked in cases of true hermaphroditism. In the male, there are rudimentary breasts and nipples and a rudimentary uterus (uterus masculinus), whereas in the female the clitoris corresponds to the penis in the male and the labia majora to the scrotum. Other minor parts are present in both, but the above serve to indicate their nature.

Both male and female reproductive organs are developed from a more primitive "cloaca," and according to the method of closure of the cloaca, so do the various apparently different organs result. The difference, however, is not as great as one would suppose. For instance, the male urethra apparently passes through the centre of the penis, while that of the female passes out behind the clitoris. If we follow out this difference in the embryo, we shall see that it was caused chiefly by slight differences in the closing up of the anterior of the orifice of the cloaca, that the urethra does not really pass through the body of the penis, but is merely enclosed in it, as it were, by a folding over, and at an early stage this folding over is nothing but a covering of skin. Again if we examine the

underside of the scrotum, we find a median line which represents the point of junction of the two sides of the previously open cloaca which is still unclosed in the case of the female, so forming the labia. The changes which take place in these various organs during embryonic life and thus determine sex are probably due to variations of a chemical nature in the blood stream of the embryo. It has been shown lately in other animals that sex is not immutable even after birth, for a case was reported at the British Association last year of a hen which, after a minute chemical constituent had been altered by tubercular disease, became a cock. Its sex was changed from female to male, and the male function of procreation was performed perfectly. Other more recent experiments with rats have had similar results. This again illustrates the fact that, constitutionally, both male and female properties were present in the animal, and the ultimate predominance of the one was determined apparently by the variation of its internal secretions, i.e., alteration in chemical constitution. But what determinants produce the chemical alterations in the blood stream of the embryo and so determine sex is not yet known.\* The physical organism is thus bi-sexual.

Now it has been seen that analytical work in the realm of psychological research has shown that psychically we are even more bi-sexual than we are physically. An important instance is that when a woman is normally developed the pleasure obtained by her in any sexual encounter is centred chiefly in the nerves of the clitoris, i.e. in her so-called "male" organ. Hence her sexual

<sup>\*</sup>On the other hand recent work tends to show that sex may be determined by sex Chromosomes, two in number, (Julian Huxley Medical Science, 1924, Chap. X, p. 911); but the ultimate meaning of this is not clear in view of the experiments which have shown that sex can also be changed after the embryo has formed, nor does it of course have any particular bearing on the nature of male or female characteristics.

feeling so centred is to be correlated with that of the male penis, which is innervated from the corresponding nervecentre. One might say it belongs to her "masculine" side,\* but I prefer not to describe either sex in terms of the other; let us therefore say that this sexual feeling is common to both and thus strictly neither male nor female as such. It is true that in most cases the feeling is considerably extended to the neighbouring parts in both sexes, i.e. to the perineum in the male and the vagina in the female.

The existence of physical bi-sexuality can be shown by anatomical demonstration. The existence of psychic bi-sexuality is now accepted by psychologists in explanation of facts, some of which will now be readily understood from what has been already stated in previous chapters, viz. reactions assumed to be characteristic of the male organism which are found in the female, and vice versa.

Let us now for a moment return to the development of sexuality, and consider the forms of erotic aim which are likely to occur during the various stages of evolution, for these aims have their psychic counterpart in the human being just as primitive anatomical parts which have been present during evolution have their counterpart at various periods of the embryonic or adult life.

Let us take as an example a very primitive biological type, the uni-cellular amœba.

This minute animal has no sex and no differentiated organs; its power of reproduction ad infinitum exists within itself. First its nucleus divides and then its whole self: the animal merely splits in two, and thus

<sup>\*</sup>Freud, on account of a strong complex, denies the sexuality of normal woman in this respect. Actual statistics however taken over a number of *normal* women show it to be correct. I have given a short analytical account of this complex in Freud in an appendix at the end of this book.

becomes two individuals. This primitive type is thus mono-sexual and auto-sexual. Any feelings of pleasure it gets, if such were possible, must be entirely self-contained and self-produced.

At a further stage in the process of evolution, we find, the first sign of sexual differentiation: that is to say, for reproductive purposes, two animals become necessary. But even in this rather more highly developed being, mono-sexuality still persists. At certain times of its life, the animal which I am about to mention can reproduce itself by simply splitting into two individuals. At other times in its life, a bi-sexual act is necessary.

The animal to which I am referring is again unicellular: it is the paramecium. When it is young, it divides first its nucleus and then itself, just as in the case of the amœba. When this has been going on, however, for some little time, it appears that a certain exhaustion takes place and an elementary sexual act is performed by two of these animalcula coming together ventrally. At this stage, the nucleus in each one splits into two, and each paramæcium exchanges the one half of its own nucleus for half the nucleus of the other through the mouth.

The two animalcula then separate, and this exchange of nucleus apparently rejuvenates them, for, after a short interval, each paramæcium succeeds in splitting into two, and thus reproduces itself again for a period by simple division. There is, however, no apparent difference between the animalcula. They have no male and female organs, but apparently the nuclei contain some primitive male and female properties, i.e. a certain unknown something which is necessary to rejuvenescence and to renewed growth and activity.

Here then we have the biological forerunners of bisexuality, but in them still exists a large measure of auto-sexuality. Again if we consider their pleasurable sensations, were they supposed to have any, they might be said to be partly based upon the attraction of another organism and partly to be centred on themselves.

Let us, however, note one thing here, and that is that, although they are bi-sexual, they are also in a sense homo-sexual. Their affections (probably of a chemical nature at this early stage) are centred on another being exactly like themselves. This, at the corresponding stage in psychological development, we call homo-sexuality.\*

Let us now examine an animal a little higher in the scale; one which no longer consists of a single cell but a group of cells in which the cells have undergone some degree of differentiation.

The hydra will serve as an example.

The hydra is a long, cylindrical animalculum composed of two layers of cells and with an opening at one end surrounded by tentacles; it has a hollow space down its middle into which its food passes: the inner layer of cells is chiefly devoted to digestion and excretion, and the outer layer to reproduction.

The hydra without the aid of another hydra can "bud off" another living hydra.

At some spot on its outer surface, the cells start growing; first, a little excresence of cells is formed, and this grows out gradually and becomes another hydra. In this animal, however, there is also bi-sexuality, and bi-sexuality of a more highly developed kind than we find in the paramæcium, for sometimes, instead of a bud of the above kind forming, a bud will form with a large central cell which we call the ovum, and on another hydra a bud will form and some of the cells will take on the characteristics of spermatozoa, i.e. of the male reproductive

<sup>\*</sup>Homo-sexuality = sexual attraction between members of the same sex, whether male or female.

cells, somewhat similar in form to human spermatozoa; minute single-celled organisms with tails which propel them through the water.

The ovum is impregnated and fertilized by means of the male cell and a new hydra is developed from the fusion of the two.

The same hydra, however, will develop both male and female buds upon it: it is truly bi-sexual in every respect, and it is no more male than it is female as a whole. It is a true hermaphrodite. Let it be borne in mind, however, that what we may call auto-sexual functions remain present along with bi-sexual functions once again.

Higher yet in the scale of evolution we find the earth worm. These animals are comparatively highly organised, having a definite blood system, digestive system, excretory system and so forth, and their generative system is completely bi-sexual. They possess both testes and ovaries, and both equally active, and their sexual act consists in two worms coming together, each discharging spermatozoa with a subsequent fertilization of the ova of the one by the spermatozoa of the other: and the spermatozoa of the earth worm are already approximating in type those of the human being. These animals again are true hermaphrodites, and bi-sexuality is fully established. Now, since the two worms are of the same sex, both being male as well as female, again we may say that their sexuality is of a homo-sexual type, their sexual attraction being toward another animal of exactly the same type as themselves.

If we go a stage further in evolution and take the frog, we find internal differentiation still more pronounced, and again there is very little external difference to be seen.

There are no external genital organs: all the ducts, whether from the ovaries, testes, bladder or intestines open into the cloaca, a little circular chamber with one

opening to the outside. The sexual development of the human embryo passes through the cloacal stage, and the subsequent stages of external differentiation of its sex are mainly produced by later developments of the cloaca and its parts.

As we continue to ascend the scale, we find that the male and female organs still persist in all animals, but that gradually one set of organs becomes fully developed, the other remaining more or less rudimentary, until we have the most complete condition of biological differentiation which is ever reached, distinct male and female forms. But right up to and including human beings, every individual is found to be physically bi-sexual, and as was stated before, in the male there are rudimentary female organs and in the female rudimentary male ones.

Now these various stages in development we saw correspond to various types of psycho-sexuality and these types of sexuality, namely, auto-sexuality, homosexuality and finally hetero-sexuality,\* are all present in the life of the human being at various times. (By homosexual tendencies is meant sexual attraction towards members of the same sex whether occurring in males or females. Hetero-sexual tendencies are those which are directed to members of the opposite sex). In the infant, there is very little, for instance, of the hetero-sexual element. Auto-sexuality is exhibited in very early childhood. Many parents are much distressed to find their infants have a tendency to masturbation, or show other forms of so-called sexual precocity and perversions. Moreover, infants show many other manifestations of sexuality, which fortunately for the peace of mind of their parents are not commonly recognised as possessing sexual significance. However, this auto-sexuality is not abnormal.

<sup>\*</sup>Hetero-sexuality = Sexual attraction between members of opposite sexes.

It is a stage in the infantile development of sex, and will normally be replaced by other manifestations at a later date if wrong methods of education do not take place. But it will not all disappear from the unconscious mind; some auto-sexuality remains in the adult, but its form is changed.

Human beings are not alone in this retention of the auto-sexual instinct.\* "Dogs are well known to attempt onanism, stags perform the act against trees, cattle, horses, and monkeys do the same; the female monkey, like the human infant, obtains sexual gratification by rubbing its thighs together, as well as by handling itself."

At a later stage in life, a further development occurs. Schoolboys and schoolgirls have not much attraction for the opposite sex—indeed, they are often scornful of them, and look upon the other sex with a certain disdain. They, however, form very strong friendships with members of their own sex, and it is common knowledge that under adverse conditions of sublimation they touch, inspect and gratify one another's sexual desires by masturbation, etc.

In other words, before the full development of their sexual organs, they have strong homo-sexual tendencies which may or may not be conscious, and these tendencies may or may not be repressed and the energy thereof changed in direction according to circumstances. Again we see a homo-sexual tendency in dogs, and other animals. Here also there is no abrupt change from homo- to heterosexuality. Even after puberty a good deal of the homo-sexual remains as a component of our complete sexual instinct, but under normal circumstances it is either repressed or its energy redirected into other channels.

Finally then, at puberty we reach the normal attraction for members of the opposite sex (hetero-sexuality). But the other forms of sexuality remain, although unconscious,

<sup>\*</sup>Metchnikoff, E., The Nature of Man.

and their energy is turned to other purposes, or partially so.

We might thus put down the sexuality of an infant as:

Auto-sexuality 100%

of a child of twelve years of age:

Auto-sexuality 40% Homo-sexuality 50% Hetero-sexuality 10%

of a normal individual at puberty:

Auto-sexuality 20% Homo-sexuality 30% Hetero-sexuality 50%

If, however, the adult be normally developed, the autosexuality and homo-sexuality disappear from sight as such, and they become what is termed sublimated or displaced. The energy belonging to them flows into non-sexual channels, or into sexual channels which are not commonly recognized as such, and simultaneously the remaining sexual energy becomes concentrated upon normal heterosexual acts. But if at any time in the child's life, the normal psychic development is interfered with or arrested, as is actually the case with a very large number of women, a more primitive flow of energy along auto-sexual or homo-sexual lines may persist in the adult, or should inhibitions which occur in adult life dam back the energy in the hetero-sexual channel, it may find its outlet through either of the more primitive channels. The two factors which appear to decide the relative proportions of sexuality in the individual are:

- (I) Heredity: constitutional tendency;
- (2) Early environment.

Of these, early environment appears to play far the greater part.

§ 2

That early environment and later, in the present condition of civilization, conventions do not produce normal human beings with the fullest possible endowment of sublimated psychic energy, is startlingly obvious from the following figures which I have collected with the aid of two other physicians from several hundred people.

A large number of the persons included were neurotic patients, so that there is a percentage of known abnormality to start with, which one might assume, would make the figures of abnormality rather higher than with nonneurotic cases, though not the relative proportion between the sexes. The summary, however, includes a considerable proportion, rather higher among the women than the men, of efficient and healthy people, women doctors, and lecturers, men who have been politicians and professors, and others taken from the same class who came to us not for treatment, but to learn something of the subject of psychoanalysis. A third class of persons has been included, viz., persons who have voluntarily given us information in order that the summary might be completed more effectively.

In all, I am making up the summary from a total of 150 men and 150 women. Of these 130 of the men were patients suffering from various neuroses, 15 came to us for educational purposes, and 5 gave voluntary information, but their psychic condition was not gone into otherwise. Of the women, 107 were patients, 34 came to us for educational purposes, and 9 gave voluntary information. Their sexual activities during adult life, i.e. after the age of 20, have been divided up into autosexuality, homo-sexuality and hetero-sexuality. By their sexual activities, I mean that they have on occasion (not necessarily as a continued habit) actually performed the

auto-sexual act of masturbation, the homo-sexual act of mutual masturbation or its equivalent, and the heterosexual act of normal coitus. Of the 150 men, about 40% had performed masturbation, ½% (i.e., one man only) had been actively homo-sexual, and over 85% had performed normal hetero-sexual acts. Of the women, over 90% had masturbated, between 20% and 25% had performed homo-sexual acts, and only 40% had performed successful hetero-sexual acts. I say "had performed successful hetero-sexual acts" because several were anæsthetic married women who, though capable of masturbation, had been quite incapable of hetero-sexual feelings. These figures include a large number of married people, the exact numbers I have not a record of at the moment. The figures I have collected on this subject were borne out generally by a Roman Catholic priest of age and experience with whom I discussed this: he said that in his opinion he thought that they were probably fairly accurate.

My facts tend to show that the proportion of infantile sexuality, which is commonly known as perversion\* when it extends into adult life, is enormously higher in women than in men, while the reverse is the case with normal hetero-sexuality. A considerable part of this is to be accounted for in two ways:

(I) By the greater resistance to free hetero-sexuality in women, owing to greater repression in childhood, which causes retention of her infantile sexuality.

(2) By the severe inhibitions which occur in adult life in women and dam back the normal flow of their heterosexuality such as the fear of having children or the fear of social condemnation.

Analysis has shown that early environment and education and the whole atmosphere in which the girl is brought

<sup>\*</sup>A sexual perversion is an infantile manifestation of sexual energy which persists in adult life; see Chapter VI.

up is responsible for the abnormality in a large number of women: and indeed among my patients, very many of them openly avowed dislike of the idea of hetero-sexuality, whereas the more primitive forms were quite gratifying to them in spite of various fears of conscience and conflicts which it is true they underwent.

A remarkable fact which shows the amount of repression present in women on this subject was that, although nearly all these women, with comparatively few exceptions, performed the act of masturbation, each one was inclined to think that she was very exceptional, and that the majority of other girls knew nothing about it; they had never discussed it with other girls but had kept the matter to themselves, as a secret, through the whole of their lives. A partial exception to this of course was seen in cases of homo-sexuality between women, but even there the women frequently had had only one homo-sexual partner and the pair of them had considered themselves more or less unique in their behaviour.

These facts so far as they go tend to show that there must be and is something essentially wrong with the present civilised conventions, for they point to a widely prevalent condition of sexual abnormality and immaturity in a large proportion of the cases cited, which, there is every reason to suppose, are representative of the actual facts. Even as compared with men at the present time, so large a proportion of infantile sexuality in women means a degree of general psychic inferiority; though as Sir Oliver Lodge has said the human race itself is but half-evolved at the present time, and there are infantile tendencies shown in men.

An infantile sexual tendency invariably accompanies other primitive and inefficient methods of employing psychic energy and it would seem therefore that whatever cause is at the root of the former is also at work in the other inferior and inefficient methods of living. It may be taken that full psychic maturity and efficiency is impossible in a condition of sexual immaturity and abnormality, for the individual cannot in that condition be free from conscious or unconscious mental conflicts on the subject of sexual matters and general aims, or from a disproportionate outlay of energy in sexual directions with an insufficient store of psychic energy at disposal for the requirements of life.

In the case of women, even if we leave out the moral and ethical aspects of the state of affairs which is shown by such facts as I have collected, and consider them only from the economic point of view, it would behove us to examine this matter very carefully indeed, as it affords a clue to much present inferiority of the economic position of women as compared with men and renders it not always true that the woman possesses equal psychic efficiency with the man.

But there is yet another aspect of the matter. One of the best established facts which modern psychology has discovered is the far-reaching importance of the first four or five years of life for the whole future career of the individual. Women have the especial care of the young at this formative period, and the psycho-sexual condition of the mother matters profoundly from this point of view. Unconscious infantile repressed tendencies are unfailingly impressed to some extent on the offspring of both sexes, for evidence points again and again to the regular recurrence of specific tendencies in two or three generations, in families under observation, due to the environmental conditions. It is true that the children may often escape apparently unharmed, just as it is true that some babies survive even where a high rate of infantile mortality prevails and the same argument applies in both cases, viz. that the weak succumb and the strong are needlessly

handicapped or weakened. The mother especially who is psychically immature and infantile implants and fosters unconsciously the same characteristics in the next generation.

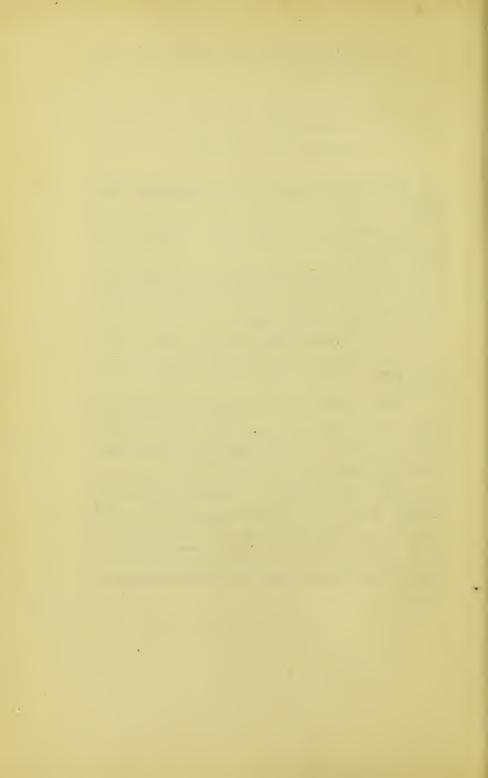
# § 3

It has been seen that the element of bi-sexuality is present in everybody. Analysis of children compared with the analysis of adults shows that, in them psychic bi-sexuality is even more in evidence than physical, and the question arises whether we have not done a great deal too much to differentiate between the sexes by added artificial means and so blocked back the normal bi-sexual flow from reaching its sublimation and useful social function. One may say that all men have a potential woman in them and all women a potential man, and that under present conditions what we may call the "masculine" side of the woman and the "feminine" side of the man are repressed at a sometimes great cost to the personality as well as a loss to society of a part of the psychic energies of individuals.

If we look at other animals, we find, as in the dog, horse, and elephant, that the male and female of all these, when not engaged in actual reproduction, have very much less sexual differentiation both outwardly and in their habits than have we human beings. In human beings, we shall notice that a large part of the obvious differentiated sexual energy is not necessary for reproduction and is not a matter of nature but of artifice.

It will be necessary for us to trace out on the one hand the reason of this, and on the other hand its effect upon our lives.

- I. Every individual is bi-sexual; the male has rudimentary female organs and the female has rudimentary male ones.
- 2. Psychically every individual is also bi-sexual and there is normally not so much differentiation as there is in the physical realm.
- 3. In the growth of the human being, various sexual aims are repeated in the same order as they have occurred in biological evolution. Auto-sexuality is first exhibited, homo-sexuality second, and hetero-sexuality third.
- 4. The normal individual at puberty retains a certain amount of auto-sexuality and homo-sexuality, but these are unconscious and their energy has been diverted into other channels.
- 5. Under civilized conditions, the female retains a large proportion of auto-sexuality and of homo-sexuality as a rule, at the expense of the adult type of hetero-sexuality. In other words, she retains an infantile type of sexuality, and therefore is for the most part abnormal or perverted.
- 6. Female sexual feelings are dependent largely upon her bi-sexuality and centred to a great extent in her so-called "male" genital organs. Comparison with other animals shows that the sex differentiation in the human race is chiefly of an artificial kind and is not found in nature itself. Its perpetuation appears to be dependent principally on the retention of the infantile types of sexuality which women possess



## CHAPTER VI

#### THE EVOLUTION OF SEX IMPULSES

In the last chapter we dealt with the evolution of sexual aims, and we found that there were three: the auto-sexual, that in which the self was alone concerned; the homo-sexual, that in which two individuals of the same type and sex were concerned; and the hetero-sexual, the normal adult form in which two individuals of opposite sex were concerned. There still remains, however, the important question of sexual impulses for consideration.

An aim or objective must not be confounded with an

impulse to reach that aim.

Let us try to understand this in another way.

The three sexual aims may be compared to three targets, differently painted and set up at different distances. The targets are no use unless something is to be fired at them. This "something" is the sexual impulse of which there are many; thus the archer is by no means confined to firing always the same missile; he may, on the one hand, use a primitive arrow, and he may fire the same arrow at any of the targets, or on the other hand, he may use a modern rifle, or revolver bullet, or even a stone from a catapult. The missiles may be many and varied and it is exactly the same with the sexual impulses. There are three objectives, but the impulses may be very varied indeed.

Let us examine quite superficially some of those impulses.

First of all, there are those connected with the reproductive organs themselves, that is to say direct impulses of the genital nerves, and these we have seen may be directed towards any of the three aims. But there are also impulses belonging to the different senses, such as sight, hearing, smell, or touch,—associated with certain parts of the body. The parts of the body to which this specially applies are known in psychology as the erotogenetic zones, as they are more sensitive than others to erotic manifestations and stimuli. They are primarily ancestral regions which at one time performed biologically a much more active part in reproduction than they do now. All these parts may give or receive stimuli in various ways, and these stimuli are classified under sexual impulses.

The origin and utility of these impulses are well marked in some of the lower types of life we have been discussing.

We can hardly believe that the primitive unicellular animal, the paramæcium, desires to touch and have contact with another paramæcium as the result of thought on its part; it has an impulse to get near and touch another individual as a first and essential part of the sexual operation, and the sexual act is merely consummated by the actual discharge of the nuclei. Chemiotaxis may be the original motive power behind this impulse to get near and touch the other individual. This impulse towards contact is one of Nature's primary stimuli, or partial impulses as they have been called, whose real object is merely to lead up to a further stage.

If we follow the scale of evolution, other phases of development are observed. Many animals that have prolonged contact with one another's bodies never have actual contact of the reproductive organs. This applies especially to those in which the genital organs are not of an external nature, but open into a vestibule known as the cloaca in common with the excretory organs. Thus the male frog clasps the female frog's body for hours on end,

but no connection of male with reproductive female organs follows.

Contact serves the same purpose in human beings, and normally nearly always precedes and leads up to the final sexual act. Another impulse not so marked in human beings is connected with the sense of smell. In many animals the distinctive smell of the male and female organs is of great importance in distinguishing sex, and it cannot be denied that it gradully assumes a sexual pleasure and impulse of its own: moreover, the anus being situated close to the reproductive organs the sense of smell of the one is always associated with the sense of smell of the other. Anyone who has watched two dogs smelling each other and wagging their tails in evident pleasure, or smelling each other's excrement, will realize this.

Now in children there is also a considerable liking for this smell, and in adults it sometimes persists, depending on environment and amount of repression. The community of humans, however, has placed its ban upon the open enjoyment of certain forms of erotic impulse, and, in this case the opposite, viz. disgust, becomes a defence against its enjoyment. By association of ideas, any smell suggestive of it also becomes disgusting. And the greater the normal inclination of the individual towards this pleasure of sexual smell, the greater may his loathing become on account of its repression.

Of impulses connected with hearing we need say little; it plays its part in the love-making of birds and most other animals. The song of the bird in the breeding season is not far removed from the human lover's voice, praising the charms of the loved one, or giving vent to songs which bring to the imagination the pleasures of sex in their disguised and sublimated forms.

Among the most important of these primitive impulses

for consideration here are those connected with vision, for in this channel artificial differentiation of sex has directed a highly disproportionate amount of psychic energy. On this account and also because it is readily illustrated and observed in everyday life, without much knowledge of psychology, I shall refer to it constantly during this work.

As in other impulses (although we have not referred to them in this way), the mechanism is bi-sexual. There is the desire to look at (inspection), and its counterpart, the desire to be looked at (exhibition), and these are present in both sexes. A great deal of erotic impulse may be stimulated purely through the eyes. Looking may give to many people a considerable stimulus. On the other hand, the exhibition of one's sexual attraction may equally give pleasure to some people. In auto-sexual types the impulse takes the form of a desire to look at oneself.

In those animals where sense of smell, hearing, and so forth are not sufficient to distinguish the sex of another individual when the desire to aggress is there it becomes necessary to examine the reproductive organs of the other individual in order to determine the sex. In the passive case, an impulse towards desiring aggression is present, with the corresponding desire to exhibit the reproductive organs. In time this desire to look and be looked at becomes extended, and other parts of the body, particularly the erotogenetic zones are included. Thus in the peacock and many other animals we see the desire extended to the *tail* feathers; i.e. the parts in the neighbourhood of the reproductive organs acquire a suggestive significance.

It is true that in the example of the peacock it is the male which exhibits itself, and in other types it is the female. But it must be remembered that all individuals are bi-sexual, and have both the desire to exhibit and to inspect. Which of these desires is in the ascendant in the

male or female of any particular species depends upon its environment and its racial and individual evolution and on the course which "natural selection" has been compelled to take.

This exhibitionistic tendency is seen in very young children. It is well known that the infant of two or three years old loves to be undressed and to strut about before an admiring circle of friends. "Come and see me bathed," is a frequent request made by a child to a visitor of whom he or she is particularly fond. In this case we have the passive form of exhibitionism. In the active form children delight to see other individuals without their clothes, etc., etc. By association the desire to inspect or exhibit is transferred to other such zones as the face or shoulders, the general shape, etc. Indeed, it may be said that the idea of beauty in human beings is commonly a purely arbitrary one, based on the conception of sex.

We deduce then that sexual impulses are many and varied, and that the final act of coitus is but one of many impulses. Moreover, any of these sexual impulses may have auto-sexual, homo-sexual or hetero-sexual aims.

We notice that these sexual impulses to which we have referred are in reality apparently intended as stimuli to the final sexual act: in the lives of the lower animals they achieve no separate function. They are only brought into play for the purpose, and when that purpose is accomplished, they fall back once more from sight. In human beings, however, we apparently have made many of these primitive sex impulses objects of pleasure in themselves. We stop short of the final act, although we continually bring various stimuli, such as those caused by exhibitionism, into almost constant play. Now this technically constitutes what is known as a sexual perversion, for a perversion is a primitive aim or impulse which remains in adult life as a separate goal, apart from its normal

function as merely a preliminary and component part of normal sexual activity.

The meaning of this, and whether it is good or bad, will be considered in a further chapter.

Let me now mention shortly some of the so-called erotogenetic zones, to demonstrate their relationship with the various impulses I have considered. The principal zones are as follows:

(1) The Mouth. Most people realize that impulses connected with the mouth have an erotic significance. Thus everyone will realize that kissing constitutes

an erotic impulse.

If we examine the matter further, however, we shall realise that its primary significance is considerably greater than is at first apparent. The mouth in the primitive biological type of animal, the paramæcium, is not only nutritional, but the actual sexual act takes place by an exchange of nuclei through the mouth. Higher in the scale, the hydra has but one opening for both mouth and anus. It is patent to everyone, that dogs and other animals lick one another with pleasure, especially when in a state of erotic tension. In human beings association gives the mouth a further significance as an organ of sexual impulse. The lips of the vaginal orifice (labia), have by association of ideas a strong similarity to those of the mouth; the fact that they have been named the labia is evidence of the psychic association. All forms of kissing are sexual impulses; this is commonly only recognised between members of the opposite sex, but even with persons of the same sex this touching of the lips is erotic, though the sexuality is repressed and unconscious. It is well known, however, to many people of understanding and experience that it may frequently have an erotic significance of a conscious

kind even between members of the same sex, and it is also well known that there are forms of perversion connected with the mouth that are much less common than the act of kissing. There are other still more disguised erotic oral manifestations which those who have not studied psychology would not recognize, such as a baby's "comforter." Let it suffice, however, that we have at least established that there is a sexual impulse connected with the mouth.

Not only is touch of sexual significance in the region of the mouth, but so also is sight. The desire to look at a woman's lips indicates their sexual attraction. The woman who rouges her lips shows an exhibition complex in this respect. The sexual idea is repressed, and unconscious, the sexual impulse still finding a primitive and a symbolic outlet.

(2) The Breasts, of course, have an actual sexual significance of considerable importance, as well as a nutritive one.

(3) The Hands have acquired a true sexual significance with an altogether bi-sexual value. They may, as we know, be actively used in connection with masturbation and so forth, but they may be equally used for producing tactile sensations elsewhere of a pleasant nature further removed from conscious sex, but, none the less, obviously of an erotic nature, such as touching or stroking the hair, breasts or skin.

(4) The Anus. The reproductive organs are very closely connected not only developmentally but functionally with the organs of excretion. In the frog, bird, and other primitive types, they open into a common vestibule, the cloaca,—and are lined with the same continuous mucous membrane. Both the penis and anus are excretory, the nerve supply of the sphincter and other muscles of both is of like

origin. Thus we can see that in the primitive mind there is likely to be a very close connection between them, and this is actually the case. In children this connection is strongly developed. They are taught to repress references connected with both organs, and they look upon them as similar in many ways. Moreover, following the developmental innervation of both there is a similar pleasure to be obtained with both, just as one gets referred pain in the area of certain nerve supplies so one gets referred pleasure. Children often gain a considerable amount of pleasure from constipation, the hard fæces extending the anal sphincter in passing causing this, and the pleasure is sometimes referred to the genital organs. Psychology has shown that this anal sexuality exists in a repressed form in everybody. Its degree, of course, varies enormously; in some persons it is completely repressed and unconscious. In other persons (adults), it assumes the form of a perversion.

The main point is that anal eroticism is a normal sexual impulse in infancy, but that in the normal individual it becomes repressed and altered. In the course of repression and alteration by education, it contributes many character traits of great importance to the individual, which we need not enter into here.

## SUMMARY TO CHAPTER VI

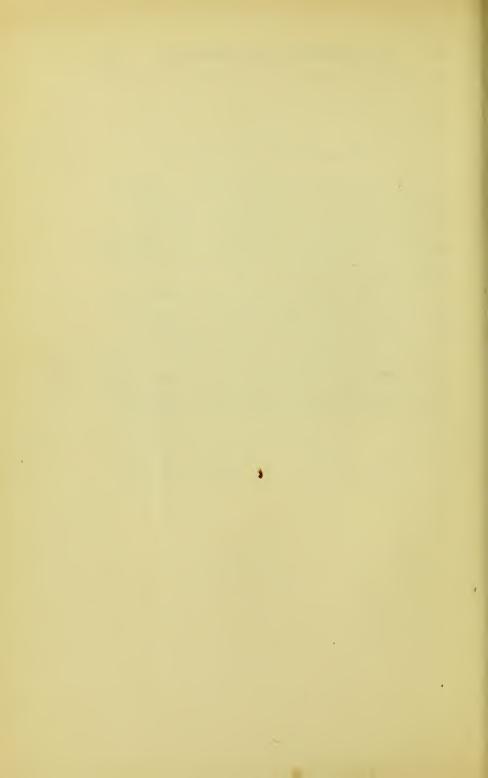
I. The sex-impulses are many and varied. Any one of them may have any of the three sex aims (auto-sexuality, homo-sexuality, and hetero-sexuality) as its objective.

2. The impulses are not confined to the genital organs, but like the sex aims, repeat their evolutionary history. They may be oral, anal, exhibitionistic, observationistic, manual, or

tactile in any part of the body, etc., etc.

3. The utility of these impulses is in the nature of stimuli towards the final normal sexual act. They are forepleasures which should normally lead to reproduction.

4. When these impulses are used as pleasurable acts in themselves, without leading anywhere else, they are in the nature of perversions, such, for instance, as kissing amongst women, or inspection or exhibitionism, utilized as a stimulus when the tension it produces is not to have final discharge.



#### CHAPTER VII

### THE FATE OF THE EROTIC IMPULSES

Psychological research has shown that much human activity really derives motive power from the primitive erotic impulses which have just been considered, though these activities are not usually supposed to have such a connection.

One might designate the primordial life-instinct as the instinct of vital continuity, and this might be subdivided into the two instincts of the preservation of the self and the propagation of the self. In the amoeba these two instincts overlap; it spends its life in preserving itself and reproducing itself. The whole of the energy of the paramæcium, of the hydra, and other primitive types of life, as well as of animals much higher in the scale of evolution, still appears to be spent in fulfilling these two aims. The frog has no æsthetic pleasures; the wild animal as a rule divides its time between getting food, protecting itself from other animals, and at certain seasons reproducing itself. If anyone fails to agree entirely with me in this, at least he will agree that activities based on these two instincts occupy the major portion of its time.

If we suppose that the vital energy behind their activities were of one kind only, but capable of varied manifestations, it would explain the observed fact that as soon as the necessity for self-preservation is removed to some extent, when the animal no longer has to put so much energy into this—as, for instance a monkey in captivity—it has a tendency to direct relatively more of that energy into erotic channels.

I

In the infant animal, a great deal of it is frequently utilized in play, but as the necessities of life force themselves upon the animal its energy goes from the path of play into the path of self-preservation and self-reproduction, and the play ceases. The captive animal may sometimes, on the other hand, revert more to play. The energy appears to be interchangeable, but all psychological research goes to show that psychic energy is not inexhaustible; that each individual only possesses his quota, and, consciously or unconsciously, uses it in various channels, each channel, however, limiting the amount that can flow in any other.

In human beings, a stage is reached in which there is apparently a very high unit of psychic energy, and in civilized human beings the amount of this which it is necessary to spend on self-preservation in its primitive form is comparatively small. Consequently there appears to be a large displacement of psychic energy which must flow through other channels, and the erotic channels are primarily the most easy ones for it to flow through. From each of the primitive channels, however, have grown many subsidiary ones of displaced interest, which gradually become less and less consciously erotic.

The training of the child consists largely in teaching it to turn its flow of energy from primitive channels into other interests of social and economic value, though those who educate infants and very small children frequently make mistakes, since they are unaware of the real facts

with which they are dealing.

Now, the pathway through which this redirection of energy seems to take place is of importance for us to consider, in order that we may understand many of the phenomena that lie before our eyes in the present semi-evolved condition of humanity.

Let us re-state the problem once more quite simply.

The object of education and environment is so to change the flow of primitive energy, which in the stage of development normal to infancy is placed in unrecognized manifestations of various primitive erotic impulses already referred to, that a large percentage of the energy shall be utilized in later life in activities of a non-erotic, useful and social type. This means that first of all the flow of energy must be displaced from one channel to another.

Displacement is a term which will be frequently used hereafter, so I will give a general definition of it here. By displacement is meant the changing of energy from one form of sexual manifestation to another, the second being, however, disguised so that its sexual significance is not ordinarily conscious.

A further stage consists not only in displacement, but in so changing the manifestations of the energy that it actually no longer has an erotic significance. This second stage, in which the energy has become of social value, is termed technically sublimation. Here I may conveniently give a few further examples of these two important mechanisms of displacement and sublimation.

One of the earliest primitive interests which the child shows is interest in its own excreta, as most observant mothers will be aware. Into the psychological reasons for this we need not enter for the moment, but observation and analysis show that this interest, under the stress of education, goes through various phases. As the child loses the interest in its excreta it begins to take an interest in playing with mud or sand. At a little later period, it plays with plasticene or clay or paint, and if other interests are present as determinants, it may become an artist or a sculptor.

As another example we might cite the primitive interest in sucking. Again, as most mothers are aware, long after hunger has been satisfied the child gains

pleasure from the act of sucking, and is frequently given a "comforter," or other abomination for the purpose of keeping it quiet by indulging this pleasure. All through its life we can trace a desire to suck a series of substitutes, e.g. its thumb, followed by external objects not a part of its body, in turn followed by sweets and finally a pipe or cigarette. Kissing is a variant of this.

In these cases the primitive interest finds a succession of outlets further and further removed from the original object of the desire. The process will be illustrated at greater length in connection with those impulses which we formerly took in detail, viz. those of exhibition and observation.

That primitive impulse necessary in certain types of animals to arouse the final act of sex, that of examining the sex organs of another animal, is found in the human being in the form of sexual curiosity: in children at certain stages there is a very persistant desire to examine the sex, not only of one another, but of animals, and to speculate in fantasy on this subject. If such persists in adult life and become an obsession, quite apart from the final sexual act, we term it a sexual perversion, and the pervert is called a "voyeur."

In the ordinary course of events, however, this primitive instinct should remain only to the degree necessary for the stimulation of further sexual activities. It becomes displaced, e.g. in many young men in a form that may be called displaced sexual interest. They observe the ankles of women, the bust, and the underclothing, without this leading to any further sexual activity. There is no secret in the fact that the average young man may recognise in a woman's appearance and method of toilet a direct sexual stimulus. He discusses with other men of his own age with perfect freedom those portions of her anatomy which she accentuates,—her hair, her neck,

her ankles, and as for her evening dress, he has not the slightest difficulty in describing it as "topping", "a bit thick", or "unpleasant", according to his view of the matter.

Further displacement takes place in which the original curiosity is no longer sexual, and this is termed sublimation. It is now known that in the child the fate of its sexual curiosity is closely connected with the development of its curiosity in other directions, which lead to the formation of permanent interests. It may pass through various stages. Thus, in the student of zoology or medicine, there may be a combination of the desire to be allowed to look from erotic motives, combined with a desire to look from scientific motives. But at a later point in the student's career the interest may be completely diverted from the human being, e.g. to the study of bacteria under a microscope, or to the solution of scientific problems. The energy actuating the explorer, the scientist, or the astronomer may all be examples of the sublimation of this primitive curiosity diverted gradually into a useful social channel where it is no longer erotic. This does not mean that the scientist or explorer ceases to have a sexual There is always a sufficient unchangeable residue of desire, but it means that the excess energy has now been changed into a useful form. If he had been unable for various reasons to turn this energy into a sublimated channel, it would have had to remain either in its original form or in a displaced or disguised erotic manifestation. Moreover, had it remained in either of these two conditions, he could not have reached the same sublimated standard of efficiency.

The reverse of this desire is the primitive desire to be looked at. Here, again, the elementary desire to be looked at naked, found unchanged in the child, is generally displaced at a very early age, under the guiding hand of

environment and education. If it should remain in the adult unchanged it is called a "perversion", and the law forbids exhibitionism of this type.

We are taught to repress it, with two results.

It may be replaced in consciousness as defence, by its opposite, and the result is shame and modesty. Since women under present conditions have the desire to exhibit more strongly developed by early environment, and are taught from infancy to repress all things pertaining to sex more completely than men, so in women shame and modesty are more highly developed. Moreover, interest is displaced to exactly the same regions of the body where the desire to look found its disguise; the ankles, face, hair, etc. All these have an erotic significance, but a disguised erotic significance. Serious consideration of the large part played by exhibitionistic impulses and their derivatives in the present phase of society will reveal and convince us that a great deal of the energy of primitive impulses has been blocked back and turned into this particular channel and thereby prevented from flowing in others of a non-erotic and sublimated nature.

The effect of this upon the competition of women with men will be discussed in a later chapter, where the cause of it must also be enquired into. Here I only attempt to illustrate the two ideas of the displacement and sublimation of primitive energy by giving one or two examples to which we shall later have to return.

There are other so-called "feminine" habits which investigation shows to be merely persistent direct infantile sex-impulses which have been retained. Take, for instance, the habit of kissing, which is frequently found among women. We have already pointed out that this is a manifestation of oral erotism, and normally between persons of the opposite sex it is one of the *preliminary* 

sexual activities which precede the final act. Men for most part have very little interest in kissing a woman unless they hope for such a consummation in the near future, and their pleasure in it is limited. But many women find their satisfaction merely in kissing, and have no conscious desire (quite apart from expediency), to carry their love-making beyond this stage. Kissing, as Freud has stated, when indulged in for its own value alone, is a sexual perversion. Frequently the infantile aim of homo-sexuality, which we have also pointed out persists in women, is satisfied merely by the impulses of the mouth, and results in the pleasure some women take in kissing other women.

Similar evidence of this retention in women of an infantile form of sexuality is shown in the impulses of touch. Women frequently find pleasure in being embraced by a man, or in holding hands without having any conscious desire to continue their activities to the normal hetero-sexual act, whereas in men such forms of contact soon become wearisome if they are to lead no further. Once again, we find the infantile aim of homo-sexuality in women frequently attaining an outlet in these impulses to touch. A similar state of affairs is found in women who have great admiration for the physical attributes and beauty of other women.

Evidence of another kind is furnished by what may be termed a reversal of these ideas. Small male infants are tacitly supposed to be akin to the feminine, and are sometimes dressed in skirts and allowed to have long hair which is carefully tended and even curled. Thus the fact that feminine attributes are infantile may be correlated with the unconscious idea that infants of both sexes are feminine!

Yet another example of the unconscious way in which civilized humanity places the woman on the same plane

as the child is in the nomenclature which is used. For instance in German, the diminutives-chen and-lein are used in the words Mädchen, and Fräulein, and these words do not refer to small women. Fräulein, for instance, is applied to any unmarried woman. In England terms of affection between lovers, often have a similar significance; a man frequently addresses his lover as "baby", "little one", "kiddy", and so forth. Such use of diminutives obviously also implies, among other ideas, that of infantilism.\*

# § 2

It is now for us to examine briefly what factors play their part in determining whether any of these primitive impulses shall be fully sublimated, shall be merely displaced, or shall remain in their primitive state; and we may say at the outset that the three main factors at work are:

- (I) Suggestion;
- (2) The ego-ideal;
- (3) That which in psycho-analysis is known as narcissism.

Suggestion is one of the most potent forces moulding the child, and, in fact, moulding the adult also. The infant, however, is what we term "very suggestible"; that is to say, that any idea which is presented to it by persons upon whom it is dependent or loves, tends to be accepted as true and to be absorbed and rendered an integral part of itself. Suggestion also enters into the formation of the ego-ideal; but that we shall mention shortly in another connection.

The child's early views, desires, ambitions and fears are moulded by the ideas which are presented to it from outside, and it must be remembered that the presentation of ideas does not merely take place through the medium

<sup>\*</sup> See also p. 229 and note.

of language, but through the medium of minute and even unconscious observations of the child. It sees that its mother always wears a skirt, and it learns to associate this as fit and proper for her to wear; it accepts it as the right thing, and at a later stage would regard any other form of garment around her legs as being unsuitable and objectionable. It soon associates all women with skirts, and skirts with women. If it is a female child, it will soon absorb a large number of ideas on the subject of dress, and it will gradually regard this subject as a fit and proper thing to think about.

A boy will receive various suggestions concerning masculine clothes from the attitude of his father towards them and the ideas which he may hear his mother express on effeminate men who think too much of their clothes. and so forth; and he soon begins to form an idea in the reverse direction to that taken by the girl. Expressions of opinion by nurses, activities performed by servants, by the people out of doors whom the child sees, by its own elder brothers and sisters, all are forced upon it day after day, till it learns to consider that some acts are wrong, some are praiseworthy, some are legitimate, and some may not even be considered. The child is like a hypnotized person who accepts and absorbs all the suggestions thrown out, until, at a comparatively early age, many of the main characteristics with which it will grow up have already come to be fully formed.

One of the mechanisms in an infant which the parents make use of in this education is repression. Repression is the result of a tendency in ourselves to keep back that which is unpleasant; it is the prevention of unpleasant ideas and conflicts from becoming conscious, or a forcing of such thoughts into unconsciousness, if they have already become partly conscious. If by means of punishment or on account of the affection for its parents

or of the ideals which the child has already formed, any of its primitive impulses are rendered unpleasant, these impulses are kept back from consciousness or disguised by displacement, so that the child may avoid, as far as it is able (and frequently it is only partially successful) all unpleasant conflicts between the primitive impulses and the suggested ideas which are now becoming part of itself; that is to say part of its ego-ideal. We here remark that the mistake made by very many parents and one to which we shall have to refer later on is that they do not realize that in causing this repression they are blocking up a channel for the flow of psychic energy, and if such a path is blocked, and the child is to grow up with a healthy efficient mind, another channel must be opened for the passage of the energy. Now, since the ideas of the father and mother have already been determined by their own early experiences, whatever was wrong in their own upbringing will be perpetuated in their children. The unconscious complexes of the parents play an important part. The parents' repressions, and narcissism, determine their conduct in various ways, and this is unconsciously assimilated by the child. Therefore there is sure to be error made by the parents, both in conscious and unconscious suggestion, and many things which the child later believes to be true and right will in reality be quite fallacious, and to these it will adhere, in spite of evidences which may be furnished to the contrary at a later period in its life: e.g. it will grow up convinced that the artificial differences it observes between the sexes are produced by nature and quite normal.

The ego-ideal is another factor in the determination of the channels through which the primitive energies shall flow; the ego-ideal is largely formed by direct and indirect suggestion, but it is also modified by the outlets found by the child itself for the energy of its own primitive impulses. The parent may, for instance, force a mode of behaviour on the child which causes it to repress in one direction, and if encouragement is not given for an outflow in another direction, the energy may establish a new channel for itself and one which may or may not be a suitable one at a later period in the child's life. Nevertheless, this new channel will modify the ego-ideal of the child to some extent, so that it is not purely the ideal suggested to it by its parents and other environment. The ego-ideal, then, is that part of the self which forms both consciously and unconsciously the acceptable standard of life to the individual. It, as likely as not, will show as many bad impulses as good impulses, because it is by no means built upon a sure foundation of truth.

Thirdly, the narcissistic factor is at work, endeavouring to force the primitive impulses through their early channels or through other channels, which will bring a feeling of perfection or superiority to the individual.

For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the term I had best shortly describe its meaning.

Narcissus, from whom the term was derived, was the son of the river god, Cephissus. He was extremely beautiful, and his end came about through his own self-worship.

One day he came across a pool in which he saw his reflection: so lost in admiration of himself was he that he could not tear himself away, and there he stayed gazing until he died.

Now, narcissism implies a certain inherent self-interest, self-worship, and desire to feel perfect. With it is incorporated that universal desire to feel power, which we mentioned in the early part of the book—the desire of domination over someone or something, consciously or unconsciously. It must be noted that the feeling of perfection or power here mentioned has nothing to do

with being perfect, or being powerful, for the narcissist is quite content if the emotion can be produced without any facts to warrant the feeling. It also implies a certain inertia, a desire to remain at peace and avoid change.

Before the infant is born, it is in a state nearing omnipotence and perfection: without effort life is sustained; warmth and food are given to it, and the efforts it has to make immediately after birth are very small, its requirements as to food, warmth and comfort being fulfilled, for the most part, as soon as it requires them, again without effort on its part. It distinguishes but little between reality and dreamland; the world it knows is extremely limited and the real facts in it are reduced to a minimum. In its early life, it largely obtains its pleasures in imagination, and it scarcely distinguishes between imagination and fact. All this leads to a condition in which, if it persists in after life, the adult endeavours to avoid effort, to get as much pleasure as possible out of phantasy, to avoid change and to feel as perfect as possible under all conditions. Narcissistic "perfection" may take the form of self-respect or self-conceit, and may largely be based upon phantasy and not upon reality; or it may take the form of impatience and worry over trifles that do not matter: or of a more blatant endeavour to obtain its own way at all costs in everything. It may, however, act unconsciously as well as consciously, and tends to force the individual to enjoy as many as possible of those primitive erotic impulses which he was able to enjoy in childhood, and of which his primitive ancestors also made frequent use. Hence, it is constantly at work against displacement and sublimation, and if narcissism permits of displacement of the erotic impulses into a form in which they can still be enjoyed on the erotic plane, as, for instance, in the exhibitionism which we have just quoted,

it retards any subsequent sublimation of the impulses. On the whole, it is a fact that we find a good deal more narcissism in the make-up of the woman than of the man. and hence we find, on the whole, less tendency to sublimation on her part. This is by no means a hereditary disability; there is no real reason why women should be more narcissistic, but unfortunately their early upbringing and environment tend in that direction, and it is difficult for them to get rid of it later. A rhyme often heard in childhood illustrates my meaning. It runs, "Little girls are made of sugar and spice and all things nice . . . little boys are made of frogs and snails and puppy dogs' tails," etc. The idea being, in other words. that the delicacy, perfection, careful attention and devotion which the little girl early learns to expect as part of her prerogative, encourages the growth of narcissism and prevents her from coming quite into touch with reality as does the little boy who early learns that he is commonplace, must shift for himself and deal with the facts of life.

Let us look a little more closely at this early period of a girl's life, and I think we shall see distinctly how artifice succeeds at this period in exaggerating differentiation and in making a female subordinate, and, on the whole, a less efficient individual than the male. Somewhere about the age of five or six, when little boys have already begun to get used to knickerbockers—when even many little girls have grown accustomed to them, too—for at the present time it is quite common to dress the tiny girl either in knickerbockers or in a very short skirt; somewhere about this age, I repeat, a girl is definitely taught that a skirt must be worn by her, must not be too short, and must on all occasions hide the garments beneath it. And about the same age her mind is similarly encumbered and her psychic energy interfered with more than is that

of the boy. Taking the physical aspect first, she learns at this age very definitely, firstly, from her own clothing that she is a very different type of individual from the male, and must therefore wear a different type of clothes. and she learns this, although she may not have learnt anything about the physical difference which exists between them. She learns from suggestion and environment that physically she is inferior to the male, that her constitution is more delicate, that she must not be so rough, that she must not expect to do the same things as a male when she grows older. She is not taught these things verbally, but she picks it up from seeing that older women are more inclined to seek rest at certain periods, that they do not play football or box or enter into a very large number of strenuous exercises with the same freedom as the male. Hence, at a period when she may not have the slightest notion of the difference between male and female, she has learnt to regard the female as in many ways physically inferior. Later, she learns that women have to be more reticent than men in their conversation and in the exhibition of their desires concerning excretory functions, and as she grows up her tendencies towards the normal growth of sexual curiosity are repressed more strongly, and she is not only kept in more ignorance of sex, but it is impressed upon her that passivity in sexual matters is expected of her, and that she must not be "forward" in any way where the male is concerned; and though the male may make advances, it is never right for the female to appear readily to reciprocate them or even to pretend that she understands them; and, in fact, she is not allowed to understand them, but is brought up rather to think that such advances are "not quite nice." In other words, her free normal sexual development is interfered with, and this obviously tends to keep her in an auto-sexual condition, and to

throw her thoughts and energies back upon herself. And she is encouraged in this again by her environment, for she sees her mother, other girls older than herself, and even the servants, apparently quite normally taking a greater interest in themselves, in the prettiness of their underclothing, in the appearance of their skin, and hair and dress, with the actual approval of the male, so that she is impressed with this self-interest as being a virtue rather than otherwise. Again, her self-interest and self-importance are increased by observing from a very early age the courtesies which men give to women, such slight activities as men standing up when a woman comes into a room, men opening doors for women, men carrying small parcels for women, or placing their chairs for them; all these impress upon the small female a sense of importance, and tend once more to force her energy back upon herself, to encourage her narcissism. And if we remember once again how her normal growth of sexual activity is at the same time similarly repressed, we cannot wonder that she grows up with (a) an infantile type of sexuality, (b) with much of her energy turned back on herself and an increase of narcissism, (c) with an actual feeling of physical and mental inferiority, which she attempts to compensate for by an imaginary feeling of superiority, the attempt once again to feel power.

Since efficiency depends upon the method of dealing with our psychic energy, the amount we put out in useful activities, it is easy to see that the female who turns so much of it back on herself remains subordinate and at the same time attempts to compensate for the feeling that she is in a subordinate position by means of her appearance and her prerogatives. It has frequently been stated that "woman becomes as she is dressed". To some extent this appears to be so. It is appearance only. She has so substituted in many instances the idea of what

she seems to be for what she is that the two are confused: her mind has been so filled by suggestions of the importance of appearance, whether in her clothes, her face, her hair, or her manner, that she has ceased to realize that these do not portray what she is, either physically or psychically. She has largely become content to seem something rather than to be something. The servant girl is continually trying to appear like her mistress as regards her clothes and general appearance. The ambition to attain the same mental development or the same physical health or strength seldom enters her head. And so through all the grades of society there is a much stronger tendency on the part of the woman than on the part of the man to look like something or somebody, or to look nice, or to appear clever; in other words, to seem something, rather than to be something. The same tendency causes her to be satisfied on the whole with seeming power rather than real power; to feel that she is "all right" is one of her main endeavours.

There is no question of blame attached to all this. Nothing else can be expected from an education which, on the one hand, represses her normal psychic growth, and, on the other, forces upon her from childhood onwards the importance of what she seems, and turns back her energy on to herself, instead of letting it flow on to the objects around her. The more fortunate male is encouraged from a very early age, not by words, but again by his environment, to ignore his own appearance and the details of his clothes and the importance of self, and to direct his attention to activities outside himself. He thus learns early to turn his psychic energy to constructive purposes, as opposed to the female who turns a large part of it back on to herself in the ways I have indicated.

We have now seen shortly how these primitive impulses are modified; on the one hand social suggestion and the ego-ideal tend to repress them or to drive them into either displaced or sublimated channels; on the other, narcissism is hard at work resisting these changes; and according to the proportion of these factors in any individual, so is the result with individual character, and where the proportion is artificially different between the sexes owing to differences in the ego-ideal, in the character of suggestion, and in the narcissism—all due, that is to say, to the early environment—there we shall get different results in the two sexes which are not due to heredity or to any natural physiological laws, but purely to these artificial conditions of environment.

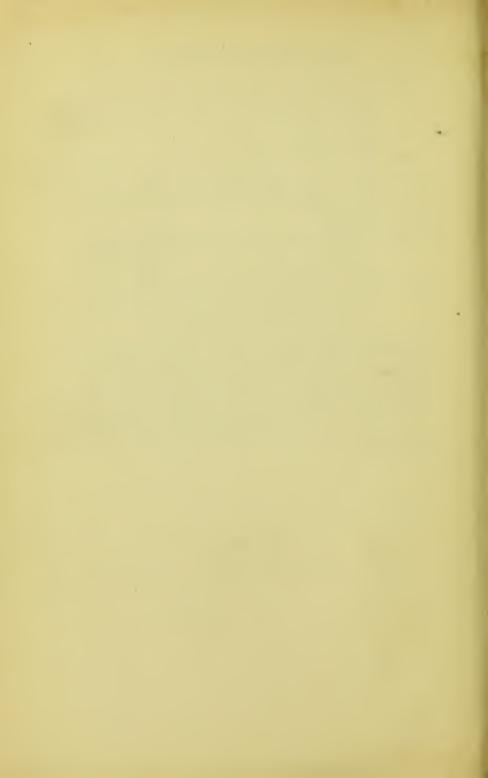
Let me conclude this chapter with a quotation from John Stuart Mill,\* which is still as applicable to-day as when it was written. "What is now called the nature of women," he says, "is an eminently artificial thing, the result of forced repression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others. It may be asserted, without scruple, that no other class of dependents have had their character so entirely distorted from its natural proportions. . . . In the case of women a hothouse and stove cultivation has always been carried on of some of the capabilities of their nature. . . Then, because certain products of the general vital force sprout luxuriously and reach a development in this heated atmosphere and under this active nurture and watering, while other shoots from the same root which are left outside in the wintry air, with ice purposely heaped all round them, have a stunted growth, and some are burnt off with fire, and disappear, men with that inability to recognize their own work which distinguishes the unanalytic mind, indolently believe that the tree grows of itself in the way they have made it grow, and that it would die if one half of it were not kept in a vapour bath and the other half in the snow."

<sup>\*</sup>Mill, J. S., "On the Subjection of Women."

## SUMMARY OF CHAPTER VII

- I. Psychic energy appears to be of a definitely limited amount in each individual. Like physical energy, it can be transmuted from one form to another, and, like physical energy, if there is waste at any point either in the transforming or in any primitive outlet, by so much is the final useful energy limited.
- 2. In civilized communities, the energy of self-preservative instincts has comparatively little work to do, and is largely displaced first of all into erotic channels.
- 3. The training of the child really consists in teaching it to turn its flow of energy from primitive channels into channels of social and economic importance. This is done by displacement with the ultimate aim of sublimation. In its final and most efficient form it should possess as erotic manifestations only those of a normal hetero-sexual nature without any erotic by-paths at all.
  - (a) Displacement is the change of erotic energy of a primitive impulse into another erotic form which is so disguised as not to appear consciously erotic.
  - (b) Sublimation is the change of such erotic energy from an erotic activity to a non-erotic activity which is purely social, economic or pleasureable, and is entirely cut off from any erotic channel.
- 4. The factors at work upon a child in deciding the amount of displacement or sublimation are:
  - (I) Suggestion;
  - (2) The Ego-ideal;
  - (3) Narcissism.

- (a) The female child, owing to its environment and the suggestions implanted in it, is more narcissistic than the male child, and is less able to sublimate its erotic material on this account.
- (b) The female child, owing to suggestion and the egoideal which is imposed upon it, is more repressed than the male child, and therefore tends to remain more infantile in its sexuality and to be less able to sublimate.
- (c) The female, owing to early environment, suggestion, and repression, tends to utilize much of her psychic energy on herself, and hence becomes less efficient. She tends, moreover, to place too much value upon the FEELING of perfection than upon the actual facts concerning herself, whatever they may be.
- 5. The environment of the infant, which is very largely responsible for the differences in the ego-ideals and for the amount of narcissism present, is largely responsible for the different characteristics of sex and their displacements and sublimations, which are found in the adults of the two sexes. These different results are not due chiefly to any natural physiological laws, but to the artificial conditions of early environment.



### CHAPTER VIII

#### THE PHALLIC COMPLEX

We have yet to see in rather more detail how the artificial differences are brought about between men and women. It is impossible to take in detail every class of complex\* concerned, such as abnormal parental complexes and others, but if I take one of the most important, which involves both narcissism and the ego-ideal in conflict with primitive impulses, and if I succeed in showing the place of this one in the unconscious conflicts which lie behind our customs and manners, I shall have served the purpose that I have in view here. I therefore propose to describe in some detail a complex which is known in psychoanalysis as the castration complex. The term is however too limited in meaning and does not describe the fundamental idea, I therefore propose to speak of it here as the "phallic complex."

The complex under consideration is the source of a vast number of what we call "feminine" characteristics in the majority of civilized women. I do not propose to go into the analytical material to any extent, as it is somewhat involved, and unless the reader were familiar with the technique of psychological analysis he would be unlikely to grasp its purport. A fuller account of the actual evidence and work was, however, published by me in a recent paper I read before the British Psychological Society,† and to this paper I would refer readers who

<sup>\*</sup>See note on p. 19.

<sup>†</sup>A paper read before The British Psychological Society, by Paul Bousfield, 24th October, 1923, and published in *The Psychoanalytical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2, April 1924.

require more than the bare summary of the results which I propose to give here.

I have already pointed out how power, whether general or sexual, tends to be associated in the unconscious mind with the phallus. From early times the male reproductive organs have been used as the chief emblem of power and as one of the foundation-stones of primitive religions. There is no need to recapitulate the various forms which phallic worship has taken through all ages, but it is not generally realised that the symbol of the phallus has simultaneously been adopted unconsciously by both men and women, as an outstanding mark of fertility, of potency and of superiority. And those who are not familiar with unconscious symbolization, will find it difficult to realise how much the woman unconsciously envies the potency of the man and how much the man fears to lose his power. Consciously, of course, the woman does nothing of the sort, certainly the very reverse is the fact. She states on the contrary that she much prefers her own forms of power, and her own symbols. But we have learned that this is the commonest of all methods of defence of our feeling of superiority. By a process of rationalization and repression, we preserve our self respect and feeling of power.

But the unconscious desire to possess the phallus is present almost universally among civilized women, just as the fear of its loss is almost universally although in a lesser degree present amongst men.

Most adults have forgotten the views which they held on this subject at the age of three or four years, that is to say, the memories of them have been repressed; but every student of psychological analysis is familiar with the early memories which are recalled by a large number of his patients. It is very frequent, for instance, to find that little girls have had the idea, when first seeing little

boys naked, that they themselves will some day grow a phallus. It is not uncommon to find in some instances that they think they have been unjustly treated and that their parents have withheld the phallus from them, or that it has been cut off. Similarly, little boys on first seeing naked little girls, and knowing nothing about sex differences, are imbued with the idea that little girls are deformed or have lost their genital organs owing to disease. or some other fantastic cause. And they argue equally frequently that what has happened to the little girl may also happen to them, for they do not realise that this is one of the essential differences between the sexes, and their thoughts travel much further than adults (who have already repressed their own experiences), give them credit for. I am aware that such ideas as these may seem fantastic and that many people would prefer to believe that this is not the case, but I can assure them that in practically every person who has been analysed, something of this nature has been brought to light.

Such ideas as these belong to the primitive mind and are very soon repressed, but they are constantly stirred and added to by suggestions received as the child grows. They form the nucleus round which the complex of inferiority enlarges. The child, for instance, is told that if it masturbates it will become ill, or stunt its growth, or deteriorate in some way or another. This fear adds its force to the ideas of deficiency, or possible deficiency in connection with its genital organs, which have already been repressed and become for the most part unconscious. Round this unconscious nucleus revolve various desires to compensate for any feelings of inferiority which a person may possess and of whose cause he is ignorant. The compensation takes the form as far as possible of attempts to feel superior in other directions. Let any readers try to remember the first occasion on which they knew the difference between themselves and the members of the other sex and what reasons they then ascribed to this difference, and they will possibly find that they are unable to do so, and thus may realise how far from normal consciousness such ideas have been repressed. They will then realise that they are probably equally unconscious of any substitutes they are now making for such repressed ideas.

This phallic complex differs from most of the other major complexes. Many of the major complexes are due to inhibitions of the primitive, or, as Freud has called them, the component sexual impulses, and most of these primitive impulses tend to associate with, and to satisfy narcissism, and are in perfect harmony with it until the inhibitions of the ego-ideal come to play their part. But the idea of loss of power whether it be in the nature of bodily injury or psychic inferiority is a direct blow to narcissism and is antagonistic to it from the outset. Let me attempt to illustrate these ideas in a very simple manner.

Let us suppose that an individual has a strongly developed tendency to the primitive instinct of exhibitionism and that he has also a strong narcissistic temperament. Undisturbed by other factors, these two conditions are in perfect harmony and, having no inhibitions to the contrary, this individual will be able to fulfil the desires of both these tendencies by, shall we say, the primitive method of Narcissus, that of admiring his own body. the individual has as a child formed the unconscious idea of phallic deformity, as many a little girl does do, and then repressed all ideas connected with this, such a procedure would call attention to the deformity, the sight of her fancied imperfection might strike a blow at narcissism, which is continually attempting to feel this perfection. As a result a feeling of imperfection and shame would arise when the attention was called to the fancied imperfection.

and the reaction formation or characteristic which we know as *modesty* would be developed as a defence. Here let me lay stress on the fact that the whole of this process which I have discussed is unconscious: and further, that I am assuming that no other determinants, such as curiosity, etc., etc., are present which might outweigh the other factors and produce considerably different results. In the case of the boy, the same reaction formation of modesty and shame might be expected, were there any real deficiency in his development, or did he merely believe himself to be abnormal in any way. On the other hand, if his form of complex took the form of a fear lest he might suffer loss and become like a girl, he might well take pleasure in this form of narcissistic exhibitionism as a compensation for his unconscious fear of inferiority. Thus the unpleasant idea of deficiency may be thrust from consciousness in two different directions, according to the type of phallic complex present.

This is exactly what does happen, except that the details in real life are much more complicated. And it happens in nearly every civilized person to a greater or less extent. It has been found by workers in every civilized country

all over the world.

Now, various characteristics are developed in both men and women in unconsciously attempting to keep the idea of phallic inferiority from consciousness, on the one hand, and to compensate for such fears of inferiority, together with any other fears or general or psychic loss of power on the other.

I will tabulate those which have been most commonly found.

I. Modesty of an excessive nature appears to be a striking reaction formation. We know that modesty is in some cases a reaction against exhibitionism (see Chapter VII), but we see here that, as well as being a

defence against exhibitionism, it has a strong motive in keeping the phallic ideas well out of sight. The connection between modesty and shame has been mentioned previously, and it should be quite patent to anyone that modesty does imply shame. In old literature we frequently find the word "shame" used instead of "modesty".

2. Following on this modesty and as an accessory to it, there is a strong tendency to hide the division of the leg and to sexualize the legs themselves. That is to avoid the adult expression of sexuality (which is localized) and spread the libido (sex energy) over a larger area, i.e. the thighs, by a method of desexualization of the genital organs. The former is accomplished by wearing a skirt, and we know that a woman's legs are regarded as of sufficient sexual significance to render it improper for more than the lower portion of them to be seen in public. This is a regression, or turning back to an infantile and diffused form of sexuality, but it serves to keep from consciousness a purely imaginary idea of inferiority. By the same process even the underclothing of a woman is "sexualized".

Here we notice on the one hand the phenomenon of regression to primitive erotogenetic zones, similar to the example mentioned in an earlier chapter, and also the phenomenon of displacement, i.e. ideas of modesty displaced from the actual body on to articles of clothes.

3. Exaggerated manifestations of exhibitionism serve as a means of obtaining a feeling of potency once more, and as a protection of the narcissism of the individual, as well as, to some extent, a channel for the expression of the libido. It will be observed in connection with this that there is a general tendency in the female, in desexualizing the genital areas, to displace and to accentuate the sexuality on the other parts of the body

besides the legs, e.g., the arms, shoulders, face and other parts, but in so doing, there is a continual attempt to avoid those forms of sexualization which remind her of male potency, as, for instance, the appearance of hair on any part of the body which is exposed, such as the arms or the axillae. Hair on the body is popularly considered to be a sign of male potency. Hair on the head of woman has been constantly shown in actual analysis to be a displaced substitute for the hair on the body. Infantile associations connect body hairs and pubic hair with adult love and potency, and this idea is apparently transferred to the head, where it is no longer in danger of being connected with anything masculine, especially nowadays, when men, for the most part, wear their hair short. Similar ideas of the potency connected with hair may be seen in the idea that Samson's power lay in his long hair and in modern advertisements of hair-restorers which state that the "glory of a woman is her hair", and so forth.

4. There are certain symbols which are utilized to represent the phallus or phallic attributes and which appear to assist considerably in giving back to the female her feeling of power. We have, for instance, the necklaces, which are almost always phallic symbols, as are any forms of ornament which are hung on or about the person. There is also considerable historical evidence for the sexual symbolism of the necklace. Phallic pendants and necklaces were quite common at the time when phallic worship was universal in ancient Egypt and in Greece at the period of transition from the women's dominance to the men's dominance, and characteristically enough, it was at this period that the female sex chiefly upheld it. We learn from Herodotus that the Egyptian women held processions in honour

of the phallus, carrying about images of it, and Kraus and Reiskel\* tell us,—

"Notwithstanding the onslaughts of Christianity, the phallus cult was long maintained by the Greeks. The Greek women continued to wear phallic pendants of various forms as amulets. In Egypt the phallus cult persisted for four centuries after Christ."

Apparently the significance of this was that with the rise of male dominance the women took to themselves a substitute for the symbol of masculine power, of which our present pendants and ornaments are doubtless the unconscious lineal descendants. The fur necklets that some women wear, even in warm weather, are a combination of both symbols,—hair and necklaces.

5. "Femininity" so called is the most constant reaction against this phallic complex. The more a woman can look upon herself as being something quite apart from man, an individual unlike him either bodily or psychically, the more is she able to keep from her conscious mind all ideas of inferiority centring round the complex. I had during one analysis a very good example of this; of greater interest for the reason that it is by no means an uncommon statement to hear, and one which is generally passed over without much thought.

My patient stated that, in reference to a friend of hers whose exhibitionism was slight, who never admired her jewellery and whose temperament she spoke of as masculine, "I hate women who ape men." We examined this sentence rather carefully, since she uttered it with considerable emotion. In the first place, why did she use the word "ape" instead of "copy"? As she herself said, it was used in a derogatory sense. It unconsciously

<sup>\*</sup> Krauss and Reiskel, Die Zeugung in Glaube, Sitten, and Bräuchen der Völker.

meant that she hoped that such a woman could not be a man, but only a monkey. It also meant that she feared the possibility that her friend might really be as potent as a man or a superior creature and, further, that, while she was forced to admit the potency of the male, it would make her feel even more inferior were she to attempt to think that any other women had obtained that potency, whereas she herself had failed. This sentence, "I hate women who ape men," expressed both unconscious fear and envy of the woman who appeared to be approaching that condition of potency, and at the same time denied its possibility by using the word "ape". This episode may with advantage be compared with my reference to a similar condition in men who desire to prevent women from entering into competition with them on the grounds of their "physical" handicaps, and who are annoyed, or otherwise disturbed, when they are not allowed to render various conventional courtesies to women. In both cases the phallic complex is disturbed. We may compare this patient's idea moreover with Æsop's fable of the Fox and Grapes; when the fox could not possess the grapes, it persuaded itself that they were sour. This is apparently the unconscious process which takes place in the mind of woman with reference to the phallus. Like the fox, she represses the impossible wish and finds the wished for thing unlovely, but the hunger remains dormant in the unconscious.

We must now bear in mind the discussion in the early part of the book in which we determined that the terms, "masculine", and "feminine" do not as a rule really represent anything masculine and feminine as such, but are purely arbitrary in their conception in many instances. Let us look at this again in the light of the work I have quoted in the present chapter.

As a rule the use of the skirt, of the necklace, or of long

hair, is regarded as belonging entirely to feminine "nature" and to discard any of these attributes is regarded as a desexualization of the woman and the adoption of male characteristics. Obviously, from the evidence so far given we are not entitled to look upon these facts in such a light. In the references I have made, the skirt, the necklace, the hair of the head, etc., do not represent anything feminine as such, but merely a defence reaction against the phallic complex and against other associated feelings of inferiority, and to discard them would merely represent a progress from an infantile to an adult form of sexuality. They are not part of normal woman, but an added series of emblems dependent on local conditions of civilization and environment. from being universal, there are many races of mankind in whom a completely opposite set of symbols exists where modifications of this complex, or the absence of it in an exaggerated form, or the acceptance of the inferiority of woman, has entirely altered the female manifestations of sexuality. Thus in China, in many parts, the unmarried woman almost invariably wears trousers. A similar argument holds good concerning much of etiquette, and for many of the false general ideas of the weakness and physical inferiority of women, which, on the one hand allow the female to obtain certain prerogatives and spurious superiority as a defence reaction to the idea of impotence, and, on the other hand, confirm the man with a phallic complex in the idea of his own potency.

Again, it has been seen that, as a defence reaction against this same complex, there is a tendency to desexualize the procreative organs of woman and to spread the sexual interest over other parts of the body where the conscious mind does not realize it so acutely, and where the accentuation of the absence of the phallus is avoided. This is a tendency to revert to *infantile* or diffused sexual

impulses and aims, and these infantile impulses and aims appear to be frequently confused with feminine impulses and aims. The woman who remains infantile is termed "a feminine woman", but in point of fact, there is nothing feminine about such infantile reversions, and in many cases equally infantile reversions have been observed in men who have been termed "effeminate men". Analysis of their case has shown that in reality their characteristics have merely been due to a holding back of the libido on the infantile impulses and aims.

There is equally convincing evidence to be obtained from the analysis of women with an opposite type of character, where the infantile traits are not strongly marked.

At first I was somewhat astonished at the particularly sweeping statements of certain analysts on the subject, especially when they were often so circumspect and guarded when dealing with other complexes. I then noticed, both in their writings and speeches, that such analysts, like the historians already mentioned, exhibited varying qualities of emotion when dealing with this subject. There was considerable pleasure shown in explaining away any pretentions of the woman to equality in any respect; and when they dealt with phallic symbols, there was a tendency to attribute real power to the phallus itself. I have noticed several examples of this recently.\*

At a lecture given at one of our great teaching hospitals to students of both sexes a certain analyst was dealing in the popular manner with this subject, and he made reference to the fact, in a jocular manner, that girls with masculine attributes were showing envy of their brothers! A pleased smile spread over his face as he spoke, and the male students present cheered. Obviously, both he and the male students were pleased with the idea; it confirmed them in their own feeling of potency and acted as a defence against their own phallic complex.

<sup>\*</sup>Cf. Appendix

In all persons the emotional attitude to the mother, sisters or wife, and the individual's own narcissism, which tends to look on these possessions as perfect, must of necessity influence the judgment in regard to the value of so-called "feminine" (i.e. infantile) manifestations, and therefore make a reclassification of ideas difficult in regard to masculinity and femininity; so that people, including analysts, are not to be blamed if in this one particular subject they tend to make sweeping generalizations, and to argue from incomplete premises. Here, I think, is the explanation of apparently contradictory views which one hears in relation particularly to the female phallic complex.

Abraham,\* for instance, speaks of the "fact that power is essentially associated with . . .the male organ, that the woman is only in a position to excite the man's libido and respond to it, and that otherwise she is compelled to accept a waiting attitude," so that the solution of her "castration complex" then implies "a readiness to admit

the male activity and her own passivity ".

This is in some cases, no doubt, a useful method of solution. But (if I have accurately represented Abraham's meaning) it is not the complete solution, if it implies that the woman's "passivity" must be carried into all the other departments of life. Cases of sexual anæsthesia in women, associated with this complex, have cleared up with a re-valuation in which the active or aggressive tendencies of the woman have still been allowed full play. Nor is the acceptance of the "biological rôle" of marriage and maternity connected at all of necessity with the so-called "feminine" reactions, e.g., of modesty and the wish not to resemble men.

Let me just summarize the facts presented in this chapter.

<sup>\*</sup> Abraham, Castration Complex in Women (International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Jan. 1922, pp. 26-28.

(I) Many so-called "masculine" and "feminine" secondary characteristics are only defence reactions against repressed fears of inferiority; the so-called "feminine characteristics" being, in many instances, infantile regressions. This is the reason why such characteristics are not true secondary psychic sexual characteristics at all.

(2) So-called femininity is the most common defence against the female phallic complex, though its connection with the complex has not hitherto been generally observed. The unconscious condition in this case comprises denial of forms of sexuality in common with the male, regression to infantile modes of expression of the sexual energy through a displacement of sexual value away from the sexual organs, and exaggerated exhibitionism as a narcissistic protection for the feeling of power. The whole constitutes an infantile condition of sexuality.

(3) The phallic complex in women may, however, assume a form nearer consciousness with a resulting character formation in which there is a continual struggle to attain emblems of masculine potency. In these cases, there is always, so far as I have been able to notice, a strong emotional fear of man, not always conscious, a tendency towards homo-sexuality, a sense of injustice to women, and of the tyranny of the male. Such cases may or may not adopt "masculine" symbols in dress and appearance generally, and they may take up professions usually considered masculine in nature. This type is the one most usually observed by analysts in treating the phallic or castration complex in women owing, to their own "masculine complex," which prevents the recognition of other typical female defence reactions to the phallic complex.

(4) The characteristics of the woman who does not suffer from a strong phallic complex, or whose narcissism has accepted reality more readily than others, lack many

so-called "feminine" qualities. She frequently lacks those infantile characteristics to which we have referred; her exhibitionism is far less obtrusive; her interests, business, and appearance are often termed "masculine," but would be far better termed adult, since they are not defence reactions against the unconscious fear of impotence, but sublimations of other normal infantile characteristics which have taken an unhampered course of development.

Many psychologists regard the symbol of the phallus as being in itself the original and universal symbol of power accepted by the unconscious in both man and woman: and from the contents of the earlier part of this chapter the reader may be inclined to think that that is my view also. This is not entirely the case, however. conditions of male dominance when woman desires to attain the position and the power of man and when man fears to lose his position and power, it is natural that the symbol of power in use either consciously or unconsciously should be masculine. But there is no need for us to surmise that under all conditions this should hold good. Indeed, there is just as much evidence for the existence of worship of the female reproductive organs. We know that at other times a "Venus" cult has existed, in which the external female genital organs, or symbols thereof were accepted as representing power. We surmise that in those times a psychologist might have found not the phallic complex in most people but a corresponding one in which the female organs played a principal part, and, indeed, in individuals I have analysed I have found such to be the case, though its significance for neuroses appeared comparatively small; and under certain conditions this might be found where women have recently been dominant or are dominant and the men are still subordinate, and in which therefore the female organs of reproduction represented the symbol of power. Thus we find the cult

of Venus or its equivalent was originally man made and sustained by male priests, amongst Greeks, Romans and Indians, whereas we are similarly told that the chief priests of the phallic deities were generally women. We may thus realize that although the phallic complex is so potent a factor in present day psychology, it is quite possible that this is dependent on whether man or woman is in the ascendant or descendant stage of dominance at any given time. The genital organs of either sex may well represent the unconscious symbol of power, at times of transition.

At the same time, there are other factors which are likely to be present always, which tend to make phallic worship a more lasting and important factor in the mind than Venus worship, and these are the properties which the male reproductive organ possesses and which are not visibly present in the female, viz., to the infantile mind, the "magical" property of change in size and position, and the power of controlling the directional flow of the urine. There is however a tendency on the part of many psychologists to regard these as the two important factors in forming the phallic complex, and to minimize the very important one which is found historically in the worship both of the phallus and of the female organs, namely the other more magical property of the power to produce a new individual, the ability to obtain sexual sensations, and other properties common to both sexes.

The comparative absence of the phallic complex in its present form, is clearly seen under many conditions. Modesty is entirely absent in many primitive tribes, at the present day, but examples come to us from other civilizations. For instance, there appears to have been no modesty among Spartan women, who wrestled naked

with young men in the sports\* and we see clearly here the lack of at any rate one important defence reaction to the phallic complex where women had actual power.

Now these so-called "feminine characteristics" are, as we have shown, largely defence reactions against the absence of potency as the female recognizes it in the male, and they consist in a series of displaced primitive sexual impulses. But these infantile or primitive impulses utilize an enormous amount of energy, and it becomes obvious to us that it is scarcely likely that an individual using psychic energy in such a varied and displaced manner and in such an infantile way can effectively compete with another individual whose energy is concentrated and of an adult type.

<sup>\*</sup> Schulte-Vaerting, Die Friedens-Politik des Perikles, chap. 8, additional.

## SUMMARY OF CHAPTER VIII

- I. The phallus has for centuries been regarded as the symbol of power and superiority—originally it was one of the chief religious symbols of power.
- 2. The idea is now repressed in civilized communities, but it is none the less very potent in its unconscious activities.
- 3. Many so-called masculine and feminine characteristics are nothing but defence reactions against repressed conflicts, the feminine characteristics being in many cases a return to infantile forms of expression. These are not true secondary characteristics at all.
- 4. One of the most important of these complexes is the "phallic complex", and the common defence against it is so-called "femininity", which consists in a denial of the forms of sexuality in common with the male, a regression to infantile modes of expression, a displacement of sex away from the sexual organs, an exaggerated exhibitionism as a narcissistic protection for the feeling of power.
- 5. The characteristics of the woman who does not suffer from this phallic complex are frequently of a so-called "masculine" type, which is in reality an adult type. She lacks those infantile characteristics and defence reactions, such as exhibitionism, modesty, fear of sex, etc., and her sublimations have taken a more unhampered course in their development.
- 6. The result of the possession of so-called feminine characteristics is that these infantile or primitive impulses utilize an enormous amount of energy in displaced erotic channels, and because the amount of psychic energy possessed

by any person is limited, the average female cannot therefore use the same amount of energy as the average male in a useful adult way. Hence the problem of the equality of woman in spheres competitive with men is not dependent upon legislation or recognition of her claims, but upon the change that must be made in herself, in the methods of utilization of her energies. Only a new education and outlook can bring this to pass.

#### CHAPTER IX

## THE IDEA OF WOMAN'S INFERIORITY

I am aware that a very large number of people will state off-hand that they do not believe women to be inferior to men. I have heard people state it with considerable emotion, and this very fact, that emotion lies behind it, should cause them to pause and consider the matter anew, for such emotion means that we cannot view a subject impartially, that a weak spot has been touched, and that we have to replace by an emotional belief something which conscious logic does not entirely support.

There is a general belief that women are inferior to men; by the word "inferior" I refer to her physical as well as mental attributes, to intellectual as well as psychic capabilities. I am going to analyse here some of the sources of this general feeling of woman's inferiority.

We may divide our analysis into four sections:

- (I) Actual observed inefficiency of the energy output in women;
- (2) The unconscious over-valuation of the phallus (male potency);
- (3) The phallic complex in men;
- (4) Various misconceptions, enforced by suggestion in early childhood, arising partly out of religion and superstition and partly out of unconscious conflicts.

Other factors are at work, but these, I think, are among

the chief ones, and their summation produces the general idea of the inferiority of women.

(1) The actual observed inefficiency of the energy output in women.

By this, I refer not merely to the energy output in business but in the general aspect of life. It is observed by both men and women that the girl who enters a profession does not, as a rule, reach the same eminence as her brother. There are exceptions, but this is the general rule. There may be very good reasons for this, if the woman has to spend some of her time looking after a house or babies, but even in such cases where household duties, which commonly fall to the lot of woman, do not intrude the same difference is, on the whole, to be observed. A woman who is outstanding amongst other women is spoken of as very brilliant; this is because she is an exception.

Take the case of a woman scientist: other women among whom she works look up to her as one of the greatest lights of her day in research and professional work; many men give her the same reputation. Yet the reputation she enjoys is to a large extent because she is a woman; and the actual work she is doing is not really on the same level as that of several of the outstanding male scientists with whom she is commonly grouped. She really belongs to a group where some two or three hundred men of equal work and ability might be placed, just below the top of the tree. Her intellectual capabilities probably exceed these men; she is probably capable of taking a place in the very front rank among workers in her particular branch of science, where, as a matter of fact, popular opinion actually places her. But still her work falls short of her intellectual capabilities, and whilst the men she is competing with put most of their energies into their work, and have less personal interest in themselves, much of her energy is displaced in many unimportant trifles belonging to the so-called "feminine" life.

In social life we find the differences of output of energy much more pronounced; women are for the most part not nearly so absorbed as men in their games and their hobbies; in their interests of a more serious nature the same holds good. They have, as a rule, many more interests; their energies are scattered over a number of small things, and very few women really concentrate on any one thing in an efficient manner. The reason is that so much of their energy is turned back on themselves, and their interest is in themselves. The cause of this apparent inefficiency is not really because they are utilizing less energy, but because that energy is divided up into many channels.

There can be no doubt that the tendency with women is thus to divide their energies, and that the result is a general feeling, both amongst men and women, that women are on the whole less efficient than men, and hence inferior in the broadest meaning of that term.

## (2) The unconscious over-valuation of the phallus.

This has already been dealt with in more than one place in this book, but it requires to be summarized and attention drawn to its significance.

It takes its origin from antiquity, probably from the time when the intelligence and imagination first began to bear on the subject of reproduction. It has been an outstanding feature in most of the early religions; it has become an almost normally integral part of our unconscious minds, and, by over-valuation, those who possess the phallus fear to lose it, and those who do not possess it desire to do so. Psycho-analytical research shows that fears of loss appear to originate at a very early period of

infancy, in experiences of actual losses of various kinds. A child finds that the breast from which it obtains nutriment is taken away from it when it does not desire it to be taken away. Later on, still in early infancy, it finds that other pleasures are taken away from it, and this progressive taking away of that which it has possessed and desires to possess leads to an attitude of mind which fears removal or prohibition concerning each new interest. Hence, as soon as the infant starts compensating for previous lost pleasures by finding its first accidental pleasure in the neighbourhood of the genital organs, (which takes place somewhere between the ages of I and 3 in most normal children), simultaneous fear of loss or of prohibition unconsciously becomes associated with this. Here, however, unlike the breast and unlike other pains and pleasures emanating from the parent, the child has this source of pleasure permanently with him, and its value quickly becomes enhanced. On account of the wonderful properties of the phallus, including those of excretion, which is, in a sense, an exercise of power to the child's mind and very likely wonderful also on account of other factors which need not be entered into here, the phallus soon comes unconsciously to signify possession of power; and ideas concerning its value, and fears concerning its loss become further enhanced, especially if the child be punished for masturbation or frightened in any way concerning these organs in connection with bed-wetting or other childish misdemeanours.

In the case of the little girl, it is true that the primary feelings of pleasure in certain circumstances are not actually connected with the phallus, but with the clitoris, and this she cannot see, but her feelings are in the same situation as in the case of the boy, and the same fears of loss are in attendance. The actual envy of the phallus does not arise consciously until she sees little boys

or men, and this may of course be more or less indefinitely postponed, though probably it is not often so.

From this springs one of the great unconscious sources of the feeling of inferiority in women and their desire to compensate in other ways which show their power, or which cause them to feel power. Hence also, on the other hand, springs the unconscious tendency to despise women, which is found in men, and which tends to make them take pleasure in the belief in the inferiority of women.

With reference to this latter, we now pass on to the effect of the phallic complex in men.

# 3. The Phallic Complex in Men.

We have already examined the phallic complex in women, and have seen that one of its commonest effects is to produce a series of artificial differences between themselves and men by means of clothes and symbolic substitutes for the phallus, again largely in the way of adornment, and thirdly, in making them desire consciously not to resemble men in any respect.

We now have to consider the general effect of this same complex as it exists in men; for the phallic complex is almost universal among men in varying degrees, but with somewhat different results from those found in women.

Not only was the phallus invested by our ancestors with great power, because of its association with the power of fecundity, but it was also held to be sacred, and around it a series of sacred ideas have sprung up; and wherever there is anything sacred we at once find the primitive taboo of "Thou shalt not touch." Children are very early taught that they may not touch or play with their genital organs. This is a great mistake, at any rate in so far as the manner of the teaching generally takes place, for they almost invariably fail to obey the taboo completely, and the fear of punishment, or retribution of

some kind, at once supervenes. In our psychic life, "Lex talionis" is the rule. All fear of punishment is of the type that belongs to the old law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth ", hence the fear of loss or damage to the phallus at once arises unconsciously. Secondly, the fears connected with ideas of playing with the phallus as a rule imply loss or damage caused by or through the phallus. This fear is very much enhanced by the fact that earlier in life the child has found its most valuable. possessions or playthings taken away from it; to start with, the mother's breast, and probably of even greater importance, the control which its mother insists upon exercising over its defæcation in various ways. As soon as it has a large interest in any part of its body, it has already found that interest must be removed and perhaps if nothing else occurred, if no sacred ideas were attached to the phallus, the infant would still, having had the experience of loss of other pleasures, fear the loss of these pleasures too. It must be remembered that almost every child of three has acquired a certain interest in feelings associated with its external genital organs. In consequence, in boys, we get the fear of loss or damage to the phallus, or, through the phallus, of ill-health in the mind or body; and the more the boy is threatened with dire calamities as the result of masturbation, the greater becomes the fear of loss of potency, but it is transferred by displacement away from the phallus itself and turned into a more general unconscious feeling of inferiority. Like the woman, he is always attempting to cope with this feeling of inferiority; he does not string vague symbols, such as necklaces, around him, because he possesses the actual organ, the phallus itself, so that this again obtains enhanced value and he hates anyone to remind him, of course unconsciously, of his possible impotence and inferiority. Hence the idea that anyone

not possessing the phallus might be his equal is hateful to his unconscious egoism; and he encourages the woman in her already divergent path of trying to be as different as possible, so that he may not recognize in her a competitor without a phallus. The more he can think that the person without the phallus is his inferior in various ways, the more superior he is able to feel by means of his own male attributes; and the more he can compensate himself against the fear of loss.

Hence the man finds pleasure in all ideas of woman as a "weaker vessel", as somebody incapable, not only of many ordinary physical exertions which are quite harmless, but incapable of bearing trouble, incapable of fortitude, incapable of any form of fighting, both mental and physical; any slight weakness which is already hers is greatly exaggerated.

The man becomes solicitous for her welfare; he gets up to open the door for her; he stands up for her in railway trains; he carries her little bag or her parcel—not because she is too weak to do any of these things for herself, but because it produces in him a feeling of difference and superiority. I have frequently noticed, for instance, in a train, when a man offers his seat to a girl and she, being healthy and of an independent nature, refuses to take it, his reaction is one of annoyance; obviously, therefore, it was not purely an unselfish act on his part; he was annoyed unconsciously because the woman had asserted her equality, and this assertion of equality of the person without the phallus with the person possessing the phallus touched this unconscious complex in him.

The effect of the phallic complex, which nearly every man possesses to some extent, is to cause him to justify and increase the artificial differentiation between the sexes which has already been brought about largely by the same complex in the woman, and to produce in himself feelings of superiority by means of believing the woman to be inferior, or if he cannot believe in her inferiority he will believe in her difference.

We now see something of the early development of the complex in both men and women. There are one or two additional and later factors, however, to mention in connection with the idea as it is formed in men.

In the first place, as a rule, boys are commonly supposed to be much more prone to masturbation than girls, and therefore are given a good many lectures at various times from either parents or teachers on this subject; sometimes castration is actually threatened as a punishment for masturbation; sometimes other fears are inculcated in them. Pernicious, though well-meaning, books on this subject stating that masturbation will do bodily or mental harm—that they may get weak spines or become imbeciles, etc., etc. All these fears have a strong tendency to magnify the complex.

Moreover at a very early stage when the boy for the first time sees an unclothed little girl or a woman, it is not infrequent to notice that he shows signs of fear. Here is a person, for instance, who has apparently lost the phallus; what may happen to somebody else may happen to him.

From such ideas as this, and I have only given a rough and incomplete outline from the enormous amount of research that has been done on the subject, he desires to regard women as something quite different from himself, for the more different they are from him, the less likely is their disaster to fall upon him. Nevertheless, the fear is there, and while, on the one hand, he endeavours to place women in a different category from himself and to rationalize on the subject, he, at the same time, attempts to develop with pride every "male" attribute he can to

feel superior as a compensation for that fear. He wishes to feel more potent, for this compensates for the lurking fear of impotence: and one of the hardest blows which can be dealt him is to tell him that somebody who does not possess the phallus is equally as powerful as himself, for then, alas, his fear that the phallus is after all insignificant tends to be confirmed. Hence he must wait upon woman; he must stand up that she may sit down; whether she is young and he is old, whether she is healthy and he is ill: he must, if possible, continue to show his superiority, although his conscious mind will call it "courtesy", "deference" or what not. He must carry her parcel, her bag; it does not matter that it is not heavy: it is a sign to him of his physical superiority at any rate. He hates the idea that she should compete on equal terms with him at his work, and he will always be endeavouring to make the excuse that physical handicaps render her unable to do so on quite equal terms, and thus it is, he will often say, for her own good, that women should occupy a subordinate position; hence he may still be able to keep superior towards her in a kind and courteous way. Much exaggerated chivalry and civility in our modern etiquette is really based on this phallic complex in man, albeit man is not consciously aware of the fact, and as a rule genuinely believes in his own fallacies. True civilized etiquette, or shall we say courtesy, would not entail the idea of male standing up for female, or male carrying the parcel for female, but would mean youth standing up for age or health assisting ill-health.

Here then we see how the ramifications of this male phallic complex tend to push woman back still further into the same subordinate position which she is willing to accept from the same complex working in a rather different way.

4. Various misconceptions arising, partly out of religion and superstition, and partly out of unconscious conflicts which are then enforced by suggestions of early childhood.

The various misconceptions which come under this heading are many, and ultimately they refer, to a large extent, to the health of woman. They are misconceptions which give us the idea that for various reasons civilized woman is inferior to man on account of some sort of physical weakness or disability. By contrast, if we look at animals, at the horse and mare, at the male and female elephant, at the dog and bitch, many of these disabilities do not seem apparent. When we look at many races of savages, these disabilities, again, are either not apparent or only partially apparent, and we may wonder why in civilized woman these disabilities are present. Yet we accept them, and they are real in the sense that they do affect the life of woman. They are, however, largely unreal in another sense, and that is that they are effective, not of necessity or nature, but through the medium of belief and expectation, through the suggestions which have been given in childhood and which have been completely accepted and absorbed and which help to bring about bodily effects: though if they were not expected, they would not occur.

A number of these beliefs have their source in primitive religions, which in their turn have a good deal to do with the exaggerated formation of the phallic complex, the Oedipus complex, and other complexes known in psycho-

logical analysis.

I shall only attempt to deal with two or three examples, but these will serve to show how false is our whole conception of woman's physical incapacity, and this is all I wish to do here.

We have, of course, to recognize one physical handicap which woman has, and that is the handicap due to the birth of children. In the late months of pregnancy and immediately afterwards, she is not capable of giving all her attention to outside things as at other times; nor is the mare, nor the cow, nor any other female animal; but our ideas of both the amount of time during which she is practically incapacitated and the amount of incapacity present are extremely exaggerated even in this.

But perhaps the most obvious of all the things which are considered to be a handicap to woman's health and general physical strength is menstruation; and yet, perhaps, of all things, this should be treated as one of the least.

A large number of experiments have been carried out both by men and women doctors recently on normal women (frequently medical students), and on others not so normal, while suffering from what is frequently known amongst women as "being unwell". The very term is an unfortunate one; it is a suggestion of ill-health concerning something which is in itself a natural physiological phenomenon just as natural as is digestion or defæcation.

There was a leading article on the subject in *The Lancet* a short time ago.\* The article itself was headed with the one word: "UNWELL". Let me quote a few sentences taken from different parts of this article.

"Dr Sanderson Clow found 70 per cent. of girls free from menstrual troubles, and this percentage was increased to 93 after a single educative talk with each girl.... Drs T. Watts Eden, Christopher Martin, J. S. Fairbairn, and Bethel Solomons laid stress upon the psychological aspects of the problem; but a crucial difference between modes of consideration of menstrual pain was unwittingly expressed by two speakers at the Congress, one of whom said: 'Nobody expects the menstrual

<sup>\*</sup> The Lancet, June 16th, 1923.

process to be free from pain entirely . . . ', and the other: 'If pain was not *expected* it frequently would not appear.' This latter was the *unanimous* opinion of the speakers at the School Medical Officers' meeting, and they insisted upon the need for instruction in the elementary and essential truth that menstruation should be regarded as a natural and not a pathological function.''

Here we see that even amongst doctors who are not psychotherapists the enormous power of suggestion is recognized. The one doctor who said: "Nobody expects the menstrual process to be free from pain entirely "was emphasizing the idea that everybody expects from childhood to have some sort of pain or trouble with menstruation, and this is the very suggestion which causes the pain and trouble; and we see that the "unanimous opinion" is that if it were not expected, it would not occur. Of course, this does not refer merely to conscious expectation, for suggestion has to deal with the unconscious; beliefs get past the censor, and when they get past into the unconscious they will frequently go on working as beliefs, even though in consciousness at a later stage the individual may be taught to expect the reverse; so that we are not likely to cure menstrual pain and trouble by merely telling a grown-up person that it is psychic. We have to get at the root of the matter; we have to get past the censor into the unconscious and remove the suggestion or supplant it.

Referring once again to the article above quoted:

"According to Dr Clow, British text-books on obstetrics and gynecology are largely responsible for the impression that suffering during the menstrual period is the rule. There is a common belief, too, among grown women that girls must expect to be in a state of semi-invalidism for two or three days in every month; but the girls themselves were easy to convert to what she calls the truer and saner view by which one of the greatest stumbling-blocks to women in their careers would be removed." . . . "If the customary restraint on activity of girls during menstruation were withdrawn, one generation would see the end of most of the cases of dysmenorrhœa" (painful menstruation).

"Dr. Watts Eden, the famous gynecologist, stated at the Congress that he had placed under observation various so-called cases of severe menstrual pain, and practically all were found not to exist . . . We might correlate this with Dr W. H. B. Stoddart's dictum, rather startling by its inclusiveness, in a recent communication to The Lancet, that spasmodic dysmenorrhoea is an anxiety The theory put forward by Dr Clow sums up hysteria. opinions that are gradually meeting with fuller approval, and is of great importance to the happiness and efficiency of women. . . . It is clear in her opening paragraph that a usual element in pyschoneurotic manifestations is not lacking, for she mentions that the treatment of the physiological state by rest in bed with a novel was followed by increased apparent morbidity. But the gain from illness is not sufficient to account for all the suffering and disability arising from the menstrual function, for it must be remembered that psychoneurotic suffering is often very real to the sufferer. We speak of puberty as a time of stress, but part of the stress is often not an inevitable phenomenon but the result of an attitude towards sex which invests it with mystery and shame. Here is a fertile soil for the growth of suggestive influences when menstruation, the function of which is not fully comprehended even by gynecologists, first appears in a young girl carefully uninstructed in the commonplaces of physiology. The therapeutic talks Dr. Clow gave her young friends surely removed, in some cases, fears and apprehensions which should never have been present, and which

would have easily led to further symptoms. Modern ideas of education, as well as of the naturalness of natural functions, may be expected to diminish psycho-neurotic disorders.

"The beliefs of the parents, who, as Dr Clow says, are harder to convince than the girls, show the unquestioning acceptance which is the mark of traditional rather than rational influences. Of course, the menstruating girl must obey time-honoured restrictions, or disaster will follow, but the nature of the disaster is indeterminate. In some cases and countries, however, restrictions and disaster are well defined; the presence of a menstruating woman will sour the milk or spoil the meat, or lead to a speedier decay of cut flowers, and sometimes the disasters are so dreadful that restriction amounts to imprisonment. It is possible that relics of such beliefs have survived in our civilization, and that our fear of injury to health by exercise during the menstrual period is a secondary extension of a primitive taboo". This long quotation from so unemotional and representative a journal as The Lancet should convince even the most sceptical of the trend of modern thought and work.

We see at the end of this quotation really where the whole belief started. The idea of menstruation belongs to the idea of dirt, of restriction, of loss of the phallus, and it is the survival, even in our civilized days, of nothing but a mixture of ancient religion and superstition. This survival, strong because it is grafted in childhood and belongs to the unconscious, is a survival fearfully potent in its suggestion of limitation and its effect upon the efficiency of women as a whole.

Various experiments carried out by Professor Winifred Cullis, Miss Enid Oppenheimer and others at The Royal Free Hospital for Women have tended to show that the metabolism is only very slightly affected by menstruation.

I myself persuaded several women medical students to carry out some experiments, such as bathing in the sea. during menstruation, and although in one case menstruation appeared to cease abruptly soon after bathing, no trouble in any case followed. Health in every case remained normal, and the fact that menstruation ceased in one instance may or may not have been due to prior suggestion and ideas on the subject held by this particular person, for it is well known that menstruation will cease when it is expected to cease; that is, that suggestion affects it very easily. Many an unmarried girl who has been afraid that her sexual activities have made her pregnant has ceased to menstruate and on examination has been found not to have been pregnant at all. The whole idea has been due in these cases to unconscious suggestion. But here, again, suggestion comes in, for cessation of menstruation is frequently in itself taken as a sign of illhealth, whereas in the case I have mentioned no feeling of ill-health followed. There is, in fact, nothing to be frightened about because menstruation does cease. itself, apart from more serious symptoms, it is of no importance whatsoever; its importance is attached to it largely because in another series of ideas pregnancy is connected with the absence of menstruation: thus amongst many of the Melanesian tribes, Seligmann\* informs us that the idea is current that when menstruation ceases the children are formed in the womb from the retained blood.

One may say, in fact, that in a normal healthy girl, or woman, no difference whatsoever should be made during menstruation, in her daily life, including her daily bath, and if she is not accustomed to having a daily bath, it is the very time in her life when one would suggest that she should have one, for the sake of cleanliness and comfort.

<sup>\*</sup>Seligmann, C. G., The Melanesians of British New Guinea.

We know perfectly well that in those cases of women who have thrown aside the fear of menstruation for some greater psychological problem, such, for instance, as the Russian women who formed regiments during the war, the troubles of menstruation miraculously and suddenly ceased. Their menstruation did not cease, but their pre-war troubles concerning menstruation entirely ceased and it did not affect their physical activities in the slightest. Here we have a case of one psychological factor quite outweighing another.

Dr John Currie informs me that from his experiences amongst the tribes on the East Coast of Africa, though spasmodic dysmenorrhœa (painful menstruation) sometimes occurs, it is never very severe; and Dr. Millais Culpin states that in his experience he does not remember any case of spasmodic dysmenorrhœa amongst Chinese women of the district in which he was working. Information which I have gleaned from other sources bears out the fact that in many countries it is unknown, especially among the primitive tribes.

Following upon this, the question of child-birth natu-

rally presents itself.

We know that amongst savages there is none of the trouble experienced at child-birth which we find amongst civilized women. The disability, indeed, is so slight in many instances that an interval from their work only

occupies a few hours.

No better example can be found of the very slight disability to which childbirth need lead than that given by Seligmann,\* who tells us that among the Koita, on the very morning after the baby has been delivered, it is the custom for the young mother to wade into the sea shoulder high, carrying a pot which contains the placenta which she then breaks, leaving the fragments to sink.

Many races have no doctors and no midwives, and do

<sup>\*</sup> op. cit.

not suffer from lack of the same, except in special cases, such as deformity of the pelvis, etc. The probability is that early suggestion enters very largely into the troubles and pains of civilized woman as regards the birth of her child, and that which is accepted unconsciously tends to become a fact in actual life. This, of course, is not the only reason of the difficulties of child-birth connected with civilization: the very fact of woman's belief in her being unwell in connection with menstruation tends to make her lead a life in which her physical strength is far less than it should be, for it limits her activities. The general method of life under civilized conditions tends to do the same. Her corsets limit the growth of her abdominal muscles; her whole idea of living is circumscribed to such an extent that she is frequently not only weaker than the man, but far weaker than she ought to be. Whereas the average Hottentot man is probably not stronger than the average Englishman, the average Hottentot woman could lay the English woman flat, almost with her little finger, or at any rate, with very little more. A certain physical disability is added to the psychic disability, but this physical disability is largely the result of the idea of psychic disability, and a vicious circle is set up.

I have mentioned corsets already. They are a trivial matter, but since, again, they show an element of superstition, let me once more speak of them briefly.

It is held by many mothers that it is a very necessary thing for their daughters as soon as they reach the age of puberty or even before it, to begin to wear corsets. I have asked many of them why they think this, and their replies are always somewhat vaguely couched and obviously rationalized. Many of them do not know; it is a belief, a superstition, but one reason as given is that a girl requires support in connection with her abdominal

viscera, or breasts. Sometimes one part is spoken of as the important viscera, and sometimes another. It is in vain that one informs the mother that savage women get on very well without corsets; she has always such a rooted belief in them that her sole reply is, "Yes, but civilized girls are quite different; they have inherited weaknesses which savages have not got." There, again, is the constant belief in the weakness of woman, and the enforced idea of early suggestion concerning corsets which the mother learned when she herself was a child. Not only is this the case, but we find the superstition invading the ranks of the doctors themselves; and many a doctor, just as he looks upon menstrual pain from the point of view of early suggestion which he has learned and with his own phallic complex driving him to wish for the inferiority of women, so may he rationalize the superstition and urge the importance of corsets for women.

This question of rationalization has been dealt with in an earlier chapter of this book. In point of fact, if we are unprejudiced, a very superficial examination will show

that corsets of any kind are in fact harmful.

First of all, they give support; it does not matter whether the support is great or little, and I am not referring to the extinct fashion of tight lacing. Support of any kind has but one effect. If a patient carries his arm in a sling for six months it is known that its effect on the muscles of the arm which are now aided by adventitious means in their work of holding the weight of the arm soon results in wasting, and in six months perhaps 1½ inches in difference may be found between the circumferences of the two arms. If a person with varicose veins wears an elastic stocking for support exactly the same happens to the muscles of the leg. The calf of the leg will become flabby and will waste. It may be necessary for him to wear the stocking, but inevitable weakness

of muscle is the result of the support; and just the same thing happens to the abdominal muscles of the woman who wears corsets. The muscles lose their tone and hardness and become flabby, and this is of considerable importance, for the abdominal muscles have several important functions to perform.

First, they are accessory to the muscles of the bowels, and, in combination with the diaphragm, they are important in the activities of excretion, and their weakness contributes to that habit of constipation which is much more common in women than in men.

Secondly, they are important during child-birth in holding the uterus down into the pelvis and giving it its normal support when the uterine contractions take place. The absence of tone in abdominal muscles leads to the uterus rising too high and to a tendency, fortunately not common, for the uterus to rupture.

Thirdly, any form of constriction prevents the free movement of the lower part of the lungs. The diaphragm is unable to force its way downwards without much more exertion. Abdominal breathing, which should take place simultaneously with thoracic breathing, becomes lost, because too much effort is required to expand the abdominal wall in opposition to the pressure of the corset itself. None of these things have to do with tight lacing; but merely with the support of the muscles of the trunk, and yet, in spite of these facts, superstition and early suggestion cause a very large number of people, intelligent in other ways, to rationalize and to support their beliefs with all kinds of illogical arguments.

Exactly the same happens with the subject of high heels on women's shoes.

Here again there are even doctors who suggest that it is more healthy for women to have moderately high heels. There are undoubtedly dozens of women for whom it would be uncomfortable to wear low heels, once they have established the habit of high ones. The argument of the doctor is based upon all sorts of anatomical juggling, and I have seen it stated in a medical paper that one reason in favour of high heels is that savages always run on their toes, as though the fact that they always ran on their toes was an argument that persons who stand and are not running, or even walking, should also be always on their toes. On the other hand, we do not find these doctors wearing high heels themselves, nor recommending them for men. They are assuming that nature has left men's feet and bodily poise as they always have been, but that women are so anatomically different that they require their heels to be pushed up in order to keep them healthy!

Again, let us try to look at the actual facts of the case The wearing of the high heel simply means that we are standing on an inclined plane, and the tendency of everybody when standing on an inclined plane is to slide to the bottom of it. Hence the weight is thrown largely on the toes, and the toes are thrust further into the front end of the shoes. Unless the shoe be very broad, the weight, thrusting the toes forward, will, of course, tend to bend the big toes outwards, as they come against the sides, and that is actually what happens, for nine out of every ten English women have deformed feet, a tendency to hammer toes or hallus valgus.

Secondly, the balance of the body is frequently altered by having to stand on tiptoe. Since the ankle tends to remain at the normal angle, the tendency is for the body to fall forward, and a strain is thrown up the back muscles in maintaining the balance.

The exact details of these mechanical problems it is not necessary for me to go into here, except to say that the result is a general tendency to tiredness and over-

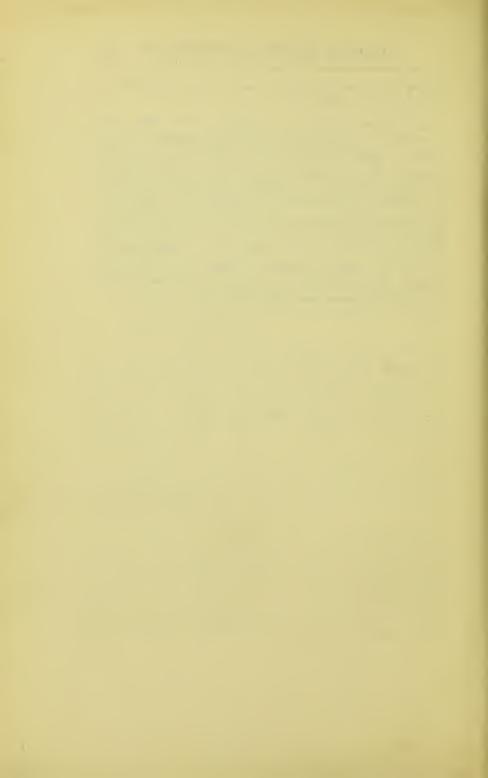
fatigue. It is quite true that women who have worn high heels do readily tire if they suddenly wear low ones. but this is the result of stretching the ligaments of the foot, and bringing into action different and unaccustomed combinations of muscles, and it passes off in time. Here again, as in the previous examples, early suggestion and superstition cloud the reasoning, and the cumulative tendency of all these is to cause an actual physical inferiority in women, which did not originally exist. There are many other matters, each small in itself, which belong to the same category as those I have mentioned, and it is not necessary for me to go into each one in detail; the examples I have given are sufficient to show, though each false idea may in itself be slight, the summation of the large number of slight abnormalities, whether psychic or physical, may and does produce very marked results.

### SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IX

- I These are chiefly derived from four main sources:
- (1) The actual observed inefficiency of the energy output of women in general.
- (2) The unconscious over-valuation of the phallus (male potency).
- (3) The phallic complex in men.
- (4) Misconceptions arising partly out of religion and partly out of superstitions, and exaggerated by unconscious conflicts which are then enforced by suggestion of early childhood.
- 2. It is observed that the intellectual woman does not reach the same degree of eminence as an equally intellectual man; her work falls short of her intellectual capabilities. Her energies are not as concentrated, but are frequently displaced into a multitude of smaller things belonging to so-called feminine life. And her interests are too much turned on to herself.
- 3. Compensations are made for lack of potency by exalting infantile or primitive impulses to a position of importance, and simultaneously a denial is made of the unconscious significance of the symbol of the phallus.
- 3. This leads to the fear in men of competition from women. Their own unconscious complexes cannot bear that the person without the phallus should be as potent as they themselves are. Hence it leads to forms of etiquette which demonstrate the superiority of man and his power to help and assist woman, whom he likes to look upon as frail. In all spheres of activity it leads him to rationalize that

women are essentially different and essentially inferior to him in general capabilities.

4. Physical inferiority of woman is greatly exaggerated. Experiments show that ideas concerning menstruation are wrong in almost every particular, that the real disability caused by this to woman is very small, but that suggestion has made it very big. Similarly, superstitions regarding the delicacy of the breasts, the necessity for wearing corsets and for not taking too much rough exercise or doing too hard work not only cause civilized people as a whole to believe these things to be true, but actually help to deteriorate the muscles and health of woman in such a way that she is actually less physically fit and less hardy than she would be if she lived the same natural life as the male.



#### CHAPTER X

## PHYSIOLOGICAL INEFFICIENCY IN WOMEN AND ITS REMEDY

Having now seen the extent to which our conception of male and female differences is erroneous, let us see what effect activities based upon these false ideas have

upon various aspects of our lives.

There is one important consideration already alluded to which some further reference must be made here. We should expect a considerable amount of hereditary change in the course of time in the physique of the sexes due to the prevalent ideals which lead to choice of the sexual partner.

There is one curious difference between the majority of other animals and man. Among the lower animals the wooing sex, that is to say the aggressive sex, is the exhibitionistic and ornate sex. In the case of birds, the aggressive bird, of whichever sex, has the most wonderful plumage. Whether it be male or female, it is the wooer, and it is the fiercer in combat.\*

The birds with the less splendid plumage, whichever sex they may be, take care of the young.

Not only amongst the birds, but amongst nearly all the lower animals, we find a similar trend.

Now the effect of ornamentation of the wooing sex upon posterity is not nearly so likely to be marked with degenerative changes in the young as when the case is reversed, because although a certain amount of choice is left to the wooed or passive sex, the greater portion of it

<sup>\*</sup> Liepmann, W., Die Psychologie der Frau.

is in the hands of the aggressive animal. Now, if the passive animal is not ornate, the choice of the love-object for the aggressive animal does not depend so much upon the picturesque garb of the wooed one. But if the condition is reversed, as it is to-day in the most civilized portion of the human race, the aggressive animal has, as factors conducing to its choice, not the actual physical or mental attributes of the wooed one, but also all the artificial attributes, which are not even part of the body, and which completely overshadow in many instances all those real factors which now become subordinate to the artificial ones.

Let us now consider some of the main factors upon which the choice of a love-object, whether male or female depend.

There are other factors than those which I am going to mention, but these will suffice to give a general idea of the

psychic procedure which takes place.

In the first place, beauty of the form and features of the wooed sex is one of the dominant determinants. This, as we have already shown, is not a question of beauty in the female only. Beauty of form, feature or clothing is inevitably demanded by the dominant sex\* of the subordinate sex, and in all cases where the female sex has been dominant, feminine beauty has been at a discount and masculine beauty imperative; in places where to-day a condition prevails of more or less sex equality, beauty is not more desired in one sex than in another, and in fact, even in facial and physical appearance, the sexes are very little different from one another.

One may cite, for instance, the Cingalese or the Eskimo. We have to go further than this and ascertain upon what

beauty depends.

Reflection soon convinces us that there is no such \*M. & M. Vaerting, The Dominant Sex.

thing as an absolute standard of personal beauty. I am not speaking now of sublimated forms which even personal beauty can take. The pleasure accompanying the perception of what is called beautiful exists in all degrees of sublimation in different individuals. We will here speak of beauty in the rather rudimentary sense that is all which is often meant in everyday life by that term. This is on analysis usually found to be no more than a name given to particular types and conformations which appeal to our senses for psychic reasons to be mentioned a little later. We have only to consider, for instance, that the highest type of personal beauty in some islands of the Pacific consists in a dark countenance with flat and distended nose, with protruding and hanging lips,-which the white races are accustomed to associate with ugliness. In many parts of Africa, beauty is associated with obesity, and a man will give half his fortune for a woman who weighs twenty stone. Coming nearer home, even in the different countries of Europe, there are very varying standards of beauty. Each country considers its own type, on the whole, as being the most beautiful. The Grecian nose was admired by the Greeks, the Roman by the Romans. There are, of course, always individuals who, owing to certain complexes which we need not go into here, desire to mate with a type other than themselves. There are even white women who prefer black husbands and black men who prefer white wives. But a large number of people consider types of beauty in other countries to be progressively more ugly the further they recede from their own type, and there are always a large number of "ugly savages" who consider that the more civilized the people, the less beautiful the type.

If we examine psychologically the causes of our choice of love objects, we find the source of much of this idea of beauty. On the one hand there is a displacement of sexual interest from the reproductive organs to the face and other parts of the body.

Thus, as we have already mentioned, the hair, the lips and so forth take on symbolic meaning. But apart from all this, the most important factor which we have to deal with is generally speaking the child's worship of the parent of the opposite sex. The infant male loves his mother first and most, and thereafter the tendency is to judge all other women by his mother, and did other factors not interfere and modify his ideas, the chosen type would always be that which was exactly like his mother. But other factors are introduced; other early loves of the child, his nurse, his sisters. Nevertheless, the adult male nearly always selects as his wife a person with at least some of the leading characteristics of his mother. Her features, or her character; her build, height, or general proportions reappear almost invariably. In analysis, we always find this mother an extremely important factor, predisposing choice.

The next factor which comes into play is that which has been termed narcissism—the love of self. If this is too dominant, and if it be connected with certain other complexes, which we need not go into here, the choice of the female love-object for a man becomes almost impossible. An extremely narcissistic male can only worship himself and that which is like himself, and he tends therefore to become homo-sexual, not of necessity consciously so by any means, but his unconscious tendencies in that direction frequently prevent his marriage, and he will be found congregating in clubs with others of his own sex—an old bachelor.

With regard to both these sets of ideas, exactly the same holds good in the case of the female. Her tendency is to take the father as a male ideal, and herself, for a narcissistic reason, as the next ideal; and her choice of

love-object is based upon one or the other of these, and upon such combinations as may depend upon other complexes.

There is, however, in the case of the dominant sex, a third factor at work, the maintenance of dominance, the fear lest this dominance should be overwhelmed.

We saw in the chapter on the phallic complex how in man the fear of loss of power tends to cause him to adopt behaviour towards woman which confirms him in his superiority, his observance of etiquette, his continual reference to her "frailty", or her unsuitability for socalled masculine occupations, and so forth. Now, in the physical sphere, not only does he tend to believe woman to be as weak as possible, but he takes care to choose a woman who is smaller and weaker than himself for a wife. It is quite true that we sometimes find a small man who has been chosen by a dominant woman, and it is equally true that we find a considerable number of persons where the wife is of somewhat the same stature as the husband. But, taken on the whole, the civilized masculine choice falls upon the fragile woman. Not only does he choose the woman who is shorter than himself, but the woman who is less muscular, the woman who is less hairy about the face and body, the woman who, in fine, shows as few signs of power in one form or another as possible.

If this be repeated from one generation to another, the tendency will obviously be to produce a smaller and weaker race of women.\* Apparently this actually takes place, for we have already shown that even at the present time there are certain races in which women are the equals of men in size and physique, whilst in one or two instances the women are physically superior. We have also evidence of a similar nature from the tombs of the old Teutons, and from some of the earliest types of the ancient Egyptians.

<sup>\*</sup>Chap. III; See note page 52.

The woman, on the other hand, is continually trying to compensate by adding to her height or size by means of heels upon her shoes, high head-dresses or other artificial aids, and following this we find her trying to compensate, not only for her physical inferiority but for her unconscious phallic inferiority by means of those exhibitionistic tendencies which we referred to earlier. The unconscious mind of man realizes perfectly well that her hair, her clothes, her artificial ornamentation, whatsoever it may be, is merely symbolic of the power she desires. It is not real power, though it produces in her a feeling of power. It is only real in a fantastic sense—that it enables her to stimulate his erotic emotions by indirect suggestion; but it does not enable her, as the man realizes perfectly well in his unconscious mind, to displace him physically, or to compete with him intellectually; hence he is perfectly willing for her to retain her spurious symbols of power, especially as they afford him considerably more erotic satisfaction than if unstimulated by these artificial means.

More valuable ideas of physical beauty to cultivate would be those that are the result of physical health; good proportions, freedom of limb and movement, and indispensably, intelligence. Quite as much pleasure can be obtained from these as from the artificial methods. once they are habitually observed. Many persons are already incapable of seeing any beauty in association with weakness or ill-health or artificial make-up in general. But since these artificial aids call specific attention to sexual attributes in one way or another, since they stimulate, as they do, erotic emotions, and thus add to unsublimated pleasure, the man's tendency is now to choose that woman who combines (1) smallness and frailty, (2) certain of his mother's characteristics, (3) certain of his own characteristics, and (4) as many artificially added means of sexual stimulus as possible. So that, as I believe was pointed out in a recent report of the Medical Research Committee, the tendency is more and more to choose a woman as wife not on account of her physical strength or her intelligence but on account of her artificial sex characteristics, that is, her so-called artistic manner of dress, and so forth! The elimination of the unhealthy by this means is not accomplished at all, for, unfortunately, the less real strength or health or intellectual capacity a woman possesses, as a rule, the more does she spend her energy in becoming adept at attracting by means of her accessories, so that there is a steady down-hill tendency in the selective methods of civilized races under present conditions.

We now see that we may not be altogether wrong in regarding the present method of ornamenting the subordinate sex as being contrary to nature, and a sign of degeneracy—a sign, however, which is perhaps inevitable under mono-sexual dominance.

"The question therefore arises", say the Vaertings,\*
"whether man is in truth biologically distinguished from
the lower animals in this respect, or whether mono-sexual
dominance may not be a degenerate phenomenon—
destined to lead to absurdities. In fact, equality of
rights for the sexes seems accordant with natural trends,
whereas mono-sexual dominance always fosters tendencies that conflict more or less sharply with the inborn
nature of human beings. It is therefore, not merely
possible, but probable, that mono-sexual dominance
is invariably a degenerative phenomenon."

§ 2

We may summarize what we have just said in a few words.

The effect of:

(a) male dominance with unconscious fears of loss of power; together with

<sup>\*</sup>op. cit.

- (b) physical interest displaced largely from the body to the clothing, both tend by heredity:
  - (I) To produce physically weaker races;
  - (2) To produce a less fit and muscular race of women;
  - (3) To produce a less intelligent type of woman.

    One must not confuse an intelligent type of woman with an intellectual type of woman; the latter is on the increase, owing to economic and other environmental conditions;
  - (4) To disregard the important aspect of a healthy constitution, and therefore breed less robust children, though this may not be so noticeable on account of improved hygienic conditions.

We have already referred to various other ways in which mono-sexual dominance leads to physical deterioration in the subordinate sex. But in order to make our immediate survey more complete let me just briefly summarize these shortly again:

(r) The less active home life of the subordinate sex, the care which is bestowed upon it in the effort to sustain unconscious feelings of power in the dominant sex, prevent it from entering so wide a field of physical activity, and tend to render it less muscular, and less able to bear the physical burdens of life. Here is a vicious circle, in which we say that the subordinate sex obviously cannot perform such and such activities, on account of its physical inferiority, and because such activities are not performed a real physical inferiority results.

(2) Early suggestion plays a great part in this female physical inferiority. Those suggestions which we have already stated were imposed upon the youth of both sexes and directed their beliefs in themselves and of themselves. Such are the ideas imposed upon children of both sexes, that the female is the "weaker vessel", and must not be roughly dealt with, etc.

(3) The ideas that menstruation is a physical disability, together with complexes associated with this which, in turn, produce that form of hysteria which is known as spasmodic dysmenorrhæa, these all tend to join in the vicious circle, so that civilized menstruation becomes by suggestion a burden, and pains connected with it become accepted as normal, with the result of further physical inferiority.

(4) The clothing of the female, apart from having its ill-effect on the choice of sexual partner, also tends towards limiting the normal muscular growth and general activity of the female—corsets, high heels, skirts, etc.—all act in these directions

## § 3

Enough has now been said, I think, to show that physiologically, artificial sex differentiation tends towards a physical degeneration of the human species, and the most hostile rationalist will admit that it cannot possibly tend in the opposite direction. If this be so, we must ask ourselves what is the normal remedy.

I am laying aside for the present questions of efficiency, ethics and morals. From the physiological standpoint two things stand out plainly.

First, it is necessary for us to reach the position of sex equality. This does not mean mere legal equality, but real psychic and social equality, in which either sex may woo, in which either sex may work, in which their occupations, whether outside work or home work, are not regulated by sex, but by personal ability.

The necessity that either sex may woo is an important consideration. In discussing this subject with women I have frequently had a somewhat pathetic objection raised to the various ideas which I have been expressing. Frequently the woman has been in theoretical agreement with the ideas, but has at once disclaimed any possibility of their practical application, on the ground that, whether she admits it or not, every woman wants to have a husband, and since the husband places so much importance on the subject of a woman's appearance and adornment, it becomes impossible for the woman to attempt a selfreform and still obtain a husband! In the first place, one may mention at once that there is a fallacy here, even under present conditions, for women are so used to regard the choice of a mate from this point of view that they scarcely realize that there is a large number of men -who have already out-grown their complexes in this matter sufficiently to desire a sexual mate who is on an equality with them in every respect. The increasing number of eugenists is in some measure evidence of the amount of thought which is now given to this aspect of sexual choice.

In the second place, however, it must be remembered that the fact that woman is generally dependent on man for a proposition of marriage is chiefly due to economic conditions, and that the woman who makes herself able efficiently to earn a living, and to be independent of male dominance, at the same time places herself in the position to choose a partner, and

there is no doubt that as soon as she reaches such a position of psychological equality (and indeed cases in which it has been approached demonstrate this fact), the woman has no difficulty whatsoever in choosing her own mate or in consummating a mutual selection. The chief need in this case is, then, the economic independence of women, and it is obvious that in raising her to a position of equality, equality as an active wooer must be implied. That this is not a very difficult position to attain in itself is demonstrated by the historical facts we have quoted in earlier portions of this work. One may also bear in mind how very many marriages based chiefly upon charms that are present only in youth turn out extremely unhappily for that very reason, that the real inward characteristics of the persons have not been taken into account sufficiently. These marriages then become nothing but an economic arrangement, in which the dominant male is compelled to look after the subordinate female.

Secondly, since a tendency to physiological degeneration is produced by artificial differentiation of the sexes, and especially by the decoration of the subordinate sex, of necessity the whole of that artificial differentiation in clothing, hair-dressing, etc., requires elimination. Choice of a love object should be dependent on actual physical and intellectual superiority. Only in this way will natural selection produce an improved type. There is no such thing as standing still. Either an improved or a degenerate type must tend to result from every union.

Artificial differentiation in dress, again, reduces itself to the question of equality. At various periods man has been the more ornate, at other periods woman. That neither sex should devote more attention to adornment seems necessary in order to produce the right results. If personal adornment were transferred to the decoration of surroundings, buildings, or houses, or the drab walls of the streets, the satisfaction demanded by æsthetic feeling and another complex which I need not go into here could still be attained, without sacrificing what is essential to the physical improvement of the race.

Thirdly, in order to prevent early suggestions affecting the growing generation as they have done in the past, co-education is necessary for the two sexes, in which weaknesses due to the sex of the individual are not taken into account either in play or in work. If an individual be too weak for any particular form of activity, whether physical or intellectual, it may be necessary to bar that individual from the activity, but this should not be done on account of sex, but should be entirely regulated by the characteristics of the individual. Any suggestions which implant ideas of inferiority in woman should be carefully pruned out of the infant's education, whether male or female, the services which they see extended to women by men should also be eliminated. If a little girl invariably sees that her elder brother carries the bag for some girl he is with, or assists her (quite unnecessarily as a rule) into or out of a vehicle, etc., unconscious suggestion is at once given to her of the frailty of woman and hence of her own frailty.

Fourthly, ideas of any disabilities connected with menstruation should never be allowed to enter the mind of any child, and for this purpose much earlier and more accurate knowledge of sex should be taught children.

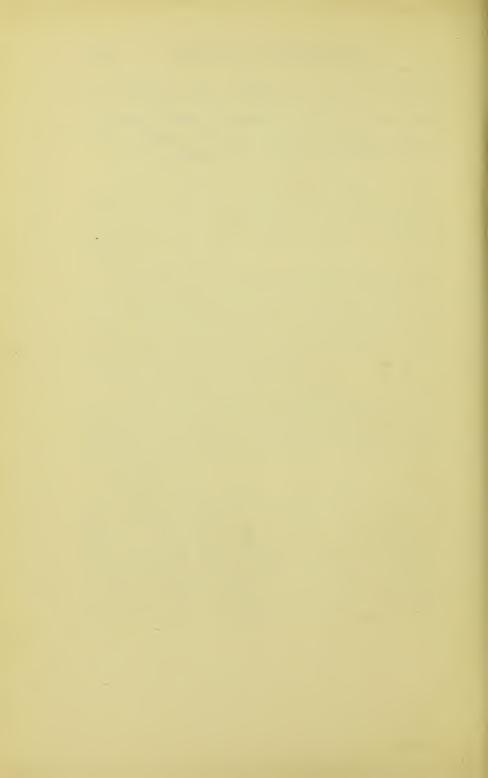
Fifthly, the idea that because a woman is going to spend a few months of her life in bearing children (and if we take an average the months *are* comparatively few), she is therefore for the other fifty or sixty years incapacitated from following any avocation which a man

follows should, again, be one of the ideas completely uprooted. In the first place, many a man is disabled for quite as long a period by different forms of illness, and in the second place many a woman and many a widow with children is compelled to follow avocations equally strenuous though not so remunerative, sorely handicapped by her bad training.

#### SUMMARY OF CHAPTER X

- I. In the majority of animals the dominant sex is the ornate sex. The reverse appears to be a degenerate phenomenon, for when the subordinate becomes the ornate sex, choice of a mate begins to depend largely on the purely decorative characteristics.
- 2. This degeneration is enhanced in human beings from the fact that the decoration by which the subordinate partner is chosen is not part of the body, but is added to it irrespective of the health or size of the body, or the intellectual capacity of the mind. And, indeed, in many instances, the worse endowed the mind and body, the more ornate does the external appearance become as a compensation.
- 3. The inevitable result of choosing a sexual mate on account of her artificial appearance is degeneration in physical type. Hence the physical inferiority of woman is gradually, by heredity and selection, becoming greater, although physical inferiority is not an actual feminine characteristic.
- 4. The remedy for such a state of affairs and for the production of an upward tendency in evolution appears to be that selection should take place purely on grounds of physical or intellectual choice, and this entails first of all the removal of all artificial grounds of choice, in such things as artificial differentiation of outward appearance. Secondly, it entails a complete equality in all ways between the male and female, and the elimination of that complex which causes the male to desire a smaller and weaker creature than

himself as his mate. Such equality cannot be produced by legal methods alone, but entails a new outlook, and an entirely new up-bringing for children of the rising generation. It entails, moreover, a complete economic equality, so that the female equally with the male is in a position to woo.



#### CHAPTER XI

# PHYSICAL AND PSYCHIC INFERIORITY OF WOMEN AND THE REMEDY

It has been seen that many of women's present limitations and disabilities are either unnecessary or have been greatly exaggerated. Much of their existing differences from men are no necessary part of female psychic character at all, but are traits which are found in the child.

Characteristics which are often regarded as "feminine", but which are really infantile manifestations of a somewhat naïve kind, are of very little cultural value; though this is not the usual way in which they are regarded. They are formed by displacement and fixation of sexual energy upon impulses short of the mature and normal ends of sex.

We will next examine the effect of this further, and attempt to see how these fixations of energy come about.

There are two aspects from which we may view women's physical inefficiency and limitations under present conditions; the first is directly and obviously concerned with her clothing. Such things as corsets, for instance, lead to degeneration of the abdominal muscles with various accompanying forms of physical inefficiency. Again, the wearing of fashionable shoes deforms her feet, alters her balance and makes it impossible for her to work and walk as much upon her feet as the average man, even were she so inclined. The wearing of a skirt is another of the limitations imposed upon her, and is discarded by a fair number of women; in cycling, for instance, where it

produces inefficiency by its resistance to the wind and by impeding the motion of the knees; in riding, in farming, in climbing, in the winter sports in Switzerland. Wherever these activities of body demand freedom of movement the skirt is recognized as an article of inefficiency, although it is true that the woman returns to it as soon as the exercise is finished!

The other aspect of physical inefficiency in women is, as we have seen, the selection by the men of smaller and weaker women, which goes to subserve the purpose of dominance in the desire of the man to feel potent, in one way or another; and this physical inefficiency is dependent on those complexes which lead to the insistence that women should not pursue activities of a rough or over strenuous nature from girlhood upwards.

All these factors taken together do make civilized woman as she is now a somewhat inefficient creature physically compared with shall we say, the woman of Central Africa or Ceylon or indeed all other countries where these restrictions, conventional or hereditary, have not been thrust upon her, and since physical health and strength are important factors, it is quite obvious that these factors mentioned above must be deterrent to the physical efficiency of woman in her avocations of daily life when compared with the efficiency of man.

There is a third factor, which is partly physical and partly psychic. We may term it the "time-factor" in woman's efficiency. In any form of work, the time and energy spent in that work, as compared with the time and energy spent in recuperation, is an important consideration.

I have had the curiosity on several occasions to work out the average daily programme of some of the people I have had the opportunity of meeting, both men and women, who were either engaged in business or in scientific pursuits. In comparing these time tables one finds as between two individuals of different sexes engaged in the pursuit certain differences which average somewhat as follows:

The time spent by a woman in dressing, washing, doing her hair, and in attending generally to her appearance, even though she were engaged in a serious occupation, averaged about an hour per day more than in the case of the man. The time spent in light or trivial conversation. frequently, it is true, again often a matter of dress, averaged, at all events in the individual cases I examined. considerably more than an hour longer on the part of the woman than the man. The time spent in studying reference books or reading subjects of a serious nature allied to the occupation of the individual was about an hour and a half more on the part of the man than the woman. The time spent in bed was about threequarters of an hour more on the part of the man than the woman: and the extra time in bed on the part of the man was due to the fact that for the most part more time was occupied by the woman in getting up in the morning and going to bed at night.

Of course, in other occupations and positions in society these times would be different; I have purposely chosen my average from a few instances in which both the man and the woman were occupied in either business or scientific work, and in all cases the individuals were adequately served at home, so that household duties did not intrude upon them.

Further, in such matters as choosing her clothes or taking an interest in shops, even when she is not going to buy therefrom, we find an enormous difference between men and women in the time taken from the "sublimated" and purposive occupations of the individual. The same applies to the manifold smaller

interests which the woman, as a rule, possesses. Her energy is much less concentrated than that of the man under present conditions of civilization. Consequently her efficiency at least of an occupational nature is, on the whole, considerably lower.

§ 2

This leads us to the next consideration, a serious one, even if we consider England alone, where there are rather more than two millions of women in excess of the men, and a great many more than two million unmarried women.

Now, most of these women have to follow some occupation, and if they desire that their choice of occupation should not be limited by their sex, but should depend upon their individual abilities, and if they desire that their chances of success shall be equal with the chances of the men, it is clear that their efficiency must, on an average, be brought up to the efficiency of men. childhood and early youth it is impossible to differentiate between those who must fend for themselves and those who are going to depend upon marriage for their livelihood, an unreliable livelihood, in any case, since there are many husbands who turn out poor bread-winners, while others become invalids or die without leaving provision for their wives. Hence it is essential that the whole of the women should be so educated and their energies sublimated as to be in a position of security and equality, whether or not they may ultimately need to utilize it. Moreover, it is at present very difficult for a woman who has approximated to this position, and who is sufficiently sublimated to stand on an equal footing with the man, and there are many such, to live up to the standard she has achieved: for the conventions of the rest of her

fellow beings tend to tie her down to activities of an unsublimated kind against her real desire. It is difficult for a woman to discard her interest in, shall we say, her clothing, to the same extent as the average man. It is difficult for her to put herself in such a position that she is treated not as a woman but as an individual, and this is an unfair handicap to those who would go forward.

There is one other point of considerable practical importance, to women, even in the present economic situation. Whatever conscious opinions and desires the male may have in regard to women's dress and appearance. and, indeed, towards artificial differentiation generally, his unconscious self, as we have seen, endeavours to keep her on a lower plane of efficiency than himself. But,—and this is very important,—he also unconsciously realizes that the external signs of differentiation are in a woman signs of inefficiency. I have noticed numerous instances of this. Let me give some casual remarks and conversations concerning professional women wherein. if one reads between the lines, the unconscious deductions in the minds of the men concerned are obvious. On one occasion, when I was paying a visit to one of our large teaching hospitals, the physician who was taking me round commented on his woman house-physician. She wore the conventional white coat, but it was unbuttoned, so that her manner of dress was perfectly discernable. She wore an open white silk blouse, she also wore white silk stockings and high heeled shoes, and round her hair and forehead was a velvet band. I asked the physician in question,—he is a well-known man,—how he liked women house-physicians, and he replied that theoretically he was entirely in favour of them, and of their possessing an equal status with the men, but that somehow he never felt quite happy about them. For instance, they persisted in demanding separate treatment

in so many ways. "In fact", he said, "We've given them equality, and they won't have it!"

"Another thing", he continued, "many of them will insist on coming into the wards dressed as though they were going to a party or some social function. What would we think of a man", he added, "who came round the wards in white flannels, or, as an alternative, in evening dress? The fact is", he went on, "even if they are business-like they don't look it."

Later on he related some stories about his women house-physicians, and amongst them remarked on a complaint he had had from one of the male patients, who had stated that the woman house-physician invariably made him feel uncomfortably erotic when she came to examine him. The physician himself remonstrated with the man, and said it was nonsense, and pointed out that he did not complain of the nurses in the same way, and the man replied, "No, of course, I don't. They are all buttoned up to the neck and dress alike. They don't come and bend over me so that I can see down their blouses." The physician went on to say that in his opinion the woman medical student tried, as a rule, to look too pretty. He did not blame her, "as she was probably trying to find a husband at the same time as she was attempting to master a profession!" And, as he remarked with perspicacity, the two aims were not efficiently compatible with one another under the present conditions expected of those who look for husbands.

I will now give a few remarks made by a member of the committee of one of our large London hospitals; not a teaching hospital this time, but one in which both men and women are invited equally to apply for posts on the junior staff. For one of these vacancies two applicants were finally interviewed—one a man, the other a woman. The woman had considerably better qualifications than

the man. I asked this member of the committee why the woman had not been elected, for the position had been given to the man, and he said that at the discussion which took place in the committee room there had been a general feeling that the girl looked "too young and pretty". I asked what her prettiness had to do with it. He seemed non-plussed for the moment, but then replied that he supposed it was not logical: it was more a feeling than anything else that she did not look a responsible sort of person. He also said that he personally could never feel that a woman was efficient when she applied for a post in the "dainty get-up" that some of them wore. He said it was "all very well for actresses to dress themselves up, but these young ladies seem to think that they are going to appeal to us through our hearts, and many of us are sufficiently conscientious to realize that a responsible position in a hospital entails something more than that. And we have a semi-conscious feeling that the woman is not concentrating her energies sufficiently on the job in hand."

The point to observe here is that the man's sub-conscious mind had associated the infantile significance of clothing with inefficiency; that the committee by rationalization from this avoided the qualifications in the which the girl was superior, which were probably a threat to the unconscious sense of male supremacy, does not alter the plain fact that the woman in attempting to retain her infantile privilege and at the same time have equality, was clinging to a sign of inefficiency which the male mind recognized, and that therefore the post was not offered her.

This point of view may influence appointments, even as between women competing with women. A rather extreme instance may be given, in which, out of several candidates for the principalship of a women's college, the (male) committee appointed a woman who did not possess

the best qualifications or previous experience among the candidates, but a woman who paid obviously little attention to the matter of dress while the one with the best degrees was passed over on the actual grounds that she "obviously paid too much attention to her dress."

This is what leads to a view held by some women in responsible positions that women are the best judges of another woman's capacity. But the real issue is one that may equally well be committed to the unprejudiced of both sexes.

I had a similar statement made to me by a man in business in the north of England a short time ago, who, although he was an ardent feminist theoretically, in practice employed no women in his office. I do not remember his exact words, but they were very similar to those of the member of the hospital committee I have just quoted. Yet another instance of the feeling on the part of at least some members of the staff of a hospital comes from a well-known pathologist, who stated at a lecture that he considered that in the interests of the profession women students and doctors should, in their professional work, refrain from wearing feminine types of clothing. "For", he said, "in this type of work it is necessary for them frequently, in conjunction with men, to discuss sexual affairs and to speak in terms of frankness, and in many other ways assist in work which between ordinary men and women is considered quite impossible. And, under the circumstances", he added, "it is undesirable for the woman to call special attention to her femininity". In this particular case the speaker was not a feminist, but that does not detract from the practical force of his ideas. It is true, of course, that many men under many conditions would be influenced by the personal and artificial attractiveness of a woman applicant for a post, but, on the whole, there is a general feeling of uneasiness, I

think, in such cases. I have overheard women medical students complain that it was very difficult for them to get jobs, and that people were not yet sufficiently used to the idea of women doctors to make their livelihood an easy one or a certain one. When one realizes that their method of impressing their patients and their prospective employers is still so much on the lines of their method of obtaining a husband, one sees at once a reason for this. There is a strong tendency amongst women to believe that a woman can become a doctor or follow some profession and still retain her femininity. It is looked upon as a great asset. It is, in point of fact, a great handicap, for whatever the conscious opinions or desires of man, his unconscious realization is that this "femininity" is after all merely an infantile method of reaction to the realities of life, and it conveys to the unconscious part of his mind a feeling of inefficiency. Hence again we have the same handicap entering into the question of woman's real equality with man.

## § 3

This leads to the next consideration, viz., the purely psychic inefficiency of woman, which is the underlying cause and most of the secret of her inferiority.

The early environment and early education forced upon the female child tend in the first place to turn her psychic energy back on herself much more than in the case of the male child, and consequently her energies become relatively more repressed and less sublimated. The inward turning of her energy reinforces her narcissism and continual desire to *feel*, whether it be to feel powerful or to feel good or to feel beautiful, and lead to the concentration of feelings upon the ego, rather than to the occupation of interest with external activity.

This is exemplified, for instance, in such a phrase as a woman will use when asked why she wastes her energy on so-called pretty things, which are not even seen; for instance, her underclothing. "Oh, I like the things in themselves", or "I like to feel nice, even where I am not seen." The energy is being spent on "feeling nice". The aim in this instance is not to effect any physical or mental change in herself or her environment. No effort whatever is entailed in really being nice, the "feeling" is desired quite apart from the "being". It is exactly on a par with the fantasy of the child, who, being unable to obtain feelings of power by actually possessing a palace, satisfies himself by imagining himself to be a king with his nurse for a subject. He is not concerned with being something, but with feeling as though he were something. It is well exemplified when a woman is at great pains to select ornate underclothing, which is never seen by anyone except herself. But there are countless other instances where the tendency to direct unconscious energy towards the self might be shown. Page after page of the magazines and front pages of newspapers, row upon row of shops are all devoted to the same idea, though, of course, it is true that there are thousands of women who are too busy to look at them. Nearly every newspaper, again, has a "Woman's Page", devoted to clothing, which is a tacit assumption that she is chiefly interested in herself and her appearance, in what she seems rather than what she is, rather than in the rest of the contents of the paper. The inward turned energy of the female, her interest in her appearance, her clothes, and pride in herself in one way and another, is manifested in her sexual life in the tendency to autosexuality which we have shown to be present, the whole procedure being an infantile form of mental life in which the energy is spent in fantasy instead of in reality.

In such a condition a certain part of her energy is fixed completely upon the ego. It is as though the steam of a steam engine were conducted out by a pipe, and, after performing a short circuit in the air, were led back into the boiler again without having moved the engine or, indeed, accomplished any external work at all. If we consider, for instance, such trivial things as the use of a mirror or of powder for the face, or of that tendency which is more prevalent on the whole in women than in men, to weep, we shall find in all of them indications of this turning inwards of self-interest. Weeping, for instance, is merely an "infantile regression", a return to that period of childhood in which the child, when its desires were unsatisfied or mental or physical pain was caused, it responded with tears. In childhood, weeping is common to both sexes: in adults, the man having dealt with reality, and subdued his narcissism more effectively than the woman, has not the same unconscious tendency to appeal to the magic of tears. In woman, whose narcissism has not been so effectively dealt with by her up-bringing, the tendency frequently remains.

This same condition is also to be found in the greater tendency of the woman to day-dreaming. It is true that her general occupations leave more time for this form of recreation as a rule than is the case with a man, but quite apart from this, her narcissistic upbringing which so frequently prevents her from adapting herself to reality, and makes her substitute pleasant fantasies for unpleasant realities, is also at the root of it. Among my women patients and my women friends who have occupations similar to those generally followed by men, it is freely admitted that the habit of day-dreaming has been much more indulged in than among the similarly occupied males. The activity of the male mind has been more constructive; although day-dreams have been

present they have been more under control and have occupied less time. The thoughts of the male have been much more occupied with external activities, and those of the woman were frequently but fantasies enjoyed during periods of rest. Day-dreaming, again, if we take the trouble to think, shows a tendency to turn the psychic energy inwards on to the self. The whole of the energy spent in day-dreams is, again, like the steam of the boiler conducted out and then back again; it leads nowhere except in a vicious circle. The more one allows the habit of pleasure obtained within oneself to prevail the more fixed in auto-sexuality does one become; and the more auto-sexual one tends to become, the more one tends to get one's pleasures in one's self. This self-interest which is cultivated in women must not be confused with selfishness as we understand it. The woman may have a very "unselfish" character towards other people, yet still may utilize an enormous amount of energy on the unconscious adoration of herself.\* Again, the tendency produced by early suggestion to look upon herself as rather more delicate than the male, and as requiring courtesy and service from the male, all tend to fix that narcissism (self-worship) whose derivatives so many psychologists have come, though under other names, to regard as secondary sexual psychic characteristics in women! Each of these items is small in itself, but when gathered together the force of all of them acting in the same direction actually causes women to turn a great deal more of their psychic energy inwards on to themselves than men do as a rule.

Another aspect of the condition of psychic inefficiency of many women concerns the direction not of that part of their interest which is turned upon themselves, but

<sup>\*</sup>i.e. the condition called "narcissism." It is not the same thing as auto-sexuality, but the two occur together.

of that which is directed into outside channels, which yet are merely displacements of infantile impulses rather than valuable non-erotic and sublimated forms of interest.

Two or three of these impulses might be chosen for illustration, but we will again take the impulse concerned in dress, for it is a very obvious one, and a great deal of energy is expended by civilized women in this direction. It was explained before that the various sexual impulses may be directed towards three aims—the hetero-sexual. the homo-sexual or the auto-sexual aim. We will consider the expression of the tendency to self-display in dress first of all with the hetero-sexual aim. Many persons have maintained that the sole object of the woman in choosing beautiful clothing is the attraction of the other sex, and though many women have indignantly denied this, others have frankly admitted it. Exhibitionism at certain times is a normal, not a perverted, aim. This impulse, however, has real and legitimate work to do only when it is used as a short preliminary to adult sexual activities. Adornment, we may remember, forms part of the marriage ceremonies in many races. When it becomes in the adult an aim in itself, in its original form, it is called a sexual perversion (exhibitionism), and when it becomes modified so that its erotic significance is partly disguised, it is still, nevertheless, largely a displaced, unconscious erotic perversion (i.e. a sexual manifestation which turns away from the normal ends of sex). If the woman is merely spending her time and trouble in order to attract and obtain admiration from the male—and this is frequently an aim in itself, quite apart from actually seeking marriage-and when for the already married woman it is not being used to produce a sexual result, then, although pleasure results both to the male and the female from it, in obtaining this pleasure a great deal of psychic energy has been spent

in an unconscious and displaced perversion, and according to the law of conservation of energy, the individual cannot utilize at the same time this energy in sublimated activities. Many married as well as unmarried women, as a rule, expend much energy in this way with no result except a certain amount of admiration and erotic attraction (possibly completely unconscious), from members of the opposite sex, without any intention of the fulfilment of a sexual aim, and the admiration which it obtains only feeds again the "narcissism" (self-love) of the individual.

But the denial of the wish to attract the opposite sex is often perfectly justified; yet if the woman knew the meaning of this denial she would probably no longer consider it a virtue, for in the cases where she states that she desires to please her friends and likes the admiration of other women, it is the repressed unconscious homosexual aim, falling short of the normal hetero-sexual one, that is present. In cases where she desires to please herself and admire herself, it is the infantile or auto-sexual aim—another unconscious perverted condition. The last is, of course, the worst from the point of view of efficiency, for reasons which have been already explained.

This is not a question of morality,—of good or evil; it is obvious that energy spent in this way leads to inefficiency of the individual as compared with another individual who either learnt unconsciously through favourable conditions in childhood to sublimate the same amount of energy or later to convert it consciously into work or occupation. Other examples might be chosen besides the impulse of exhibitionism. Owing to the repression brought about by the environment of infancy, various other impulses are reduced to the same level. A large amount of energy, for instance, is spent in merely compensating in various ways for the phallic complex which we mentioned previously. Other complexes, where

women's education has been different from man's, but which I have not mentioned, because they are less suitable for illustration in this work, stand in the same position. That complex, for instance, which makes of a man a good business man is much more frequently wasted by woman than by man, in, shall we say, extreme over-exactitude in her affairs about the house, the exact position of the furniture, and dusting behind pictures, etc., which may even exhaust the woman if carried on to excess, but which are productive of no real comfort or usefulness.

I will not go into further examples, because my object is not to give a list of all the possible and actual activities where woman's psychic energy is wasted, so much as to demonstrate that in a number of ways it is a fact. When I say that it is wasted, I want clearly to point out that I do not mean wasted from the conventional point of view. Many of those activities give a great deal of pleasure; but what I do wish to point out is that the energy spent on these activities absolutely precludes the efficiency of woman in general which would enable her to have a real equality with man. That she may obtain a spurious equality by legal reforms is possible, but the real equality can never come without a re-adaptation of efficiency.

Let it not be for a moment thought that this is an imputation of latent inferiority in women, nor that, even as things are, it prevents many of them from being as efficient in their business and science as many men. Their early education and environment are to blame, and the inefficiency is really one of degree. The percentage is probably not very high, but a very slight percentage in efficiency causes a difference in the result where competition is concerned. A turnover of only a few votes in an election will completely alter the government,

the difference of only half a second in running a race makes one man first and another last; and so the perpetual slight average loss of efficiency, owing to such causes as we have enumerated, bring in the man first and the woman second in the avocations of life; and one may give votes to women, and one may say to them that for equal work they shall have equal pay, but unless they overcome this psychic inefficiency whatever legal presents may be made to them, these will not avail to give them equality.

# § 4

The remedy for this state of affairs is that in the interests of real equality an exactly similar method of upbringing should be applicable to both sexes, and the differences which are at present made between them as children should no longer be carefully inculcated and encouraged as they often are at present either by direct suggestion or by unconscious influences which produce the same result. Non-differentiation in clothing, in education, in general treatment, is an essential factor in equality. The first time that we observed this was in the matter of physical efficiency, discussed in the last two chapters, where it was seen that our present methods of differentiation between the sexes do not tend to the improvement of the race, but act in the reverse direction, and for racial improvement should be eliminated. Here, again, differentiation has been found in association with the psychic inefficiency of women, and a remedy lies in its elimination and the adoption of equality in the methods of upbringing.

In the first place it is very necessary that suggestions of early childhood should not be based upon differences of sex. It is clear that the narcissism of women is much in

evidence in their so-called "femininity", and the narcissism of little girls is encouraged not so much directly as indirectly by seeing deference and courtesy paid to women by men, by noticing that women appear to be exempt from obligations that are imposed upon men, and have certain privileges; for instance, she finds that she herself is allowed "to have first turn", because she is a girl. In general, any form of treatment produces this effect that can be conveyed by the nursery rhyme which we all heard in childhood that "little boys are made of frogs and snails and puppy-dogs' tails, and little girls are made of sugar and spice and all things nice". The interest that the female child is taught to take in her appearance, or in the clothing of other women around her. helps to fix her attention on herself, for if the child sees that the adult women around her expend much energy in adorning themselves, she at once tends to copy the example. The children are put into different kinds of clothes at a time long before they can become conscious of the real difference of the sexes, and at a time when, as we now know, they are psychologically passing through very much the same phases of development. Thus it is important that the exclusive male and female names should be discontinued. By a hundred such subtle inconsequential suggestions the consciousness of sexdifference is implanted and made important before they can discover in what it consists, and the unconscious narcissism of the female child is fostered, tending to keep her in a psychic condition in which her interest is turned towards herself. At the same time, limitations are forced upon her by the discovery of a number of things which may not or cannot be done, "because you're a little girl, and girls don't do those things", while her brother is encouraged to attempt them, "for, of course, he is a boy". Such reasons merely indicate a bankruptcy of real reasons

on the part of the educator. Thus are imposed (not always as crudely as this) actual limitations, while the accompanying privileges foster the fancy that the limitations are on account of some indefinable superiority in "being a girl". The young male child, on the other hand, understands quite well the meaning of various concessions he is taught to extend to "girls", and he learns that he will not be protected, but must fend for himself; and his unconscious mind knows that this is in reality a sign of superiority. By these means the narcissism of the girl is fostered to a greater extent than that of the boy; in either case, narcissism (i.e. unconscious self-love and self-pride) on the mere ground of sex is not to be encouraged.

A normal element in the psychic development of the child, and one which is concerned with the normal psychic differentiation, is that of the parental complexes, and principally the relation of the child to the parent of the opposite sex. This forms an important factor of the normal development of the sex instinct. The elimination of external signs of differentiation would tend, if anything, to prevent the formation of too strong parental complexes, as well as undue stimulus and early fixation, as there would be a reduced tendency to differences of treatment between the children by the parents, while the development of the normal complexes would be unaffected. There are many other points in early upbringing in which equality must be introduced. Unnecessary services which etiquette and courtesy enforce towards women tend to foster narcissism in the child of either sex, though for different reasons. A revised idea of courtesy on a non-sexual basis is essential. That every individual should be taught courtesy to every other individual; that the young should help the old or the strong the weak,

independent of sex, is the real standard which must be aimed at, if real equality is to be produced.

Equality in types of activity and pursuits must be allowed to the young of both sexes, from infancy up to puberty, without exception. Ideas of her own weakness and inferiority must never be allowed to enter the head of the girl, especially as regards her own body. If the female were brought up to stand the same knocks and "rough-and-tumble" treatment as the male does, and not to regard her person as too delicate to be hurt, she would soon obtain a condition in which she took the risks and punishment of sport in the same manner as the male and became as hardy as he is. Superstitions involved in many ideas concerning menstruation require, especially, complete removal. It has been said to me that a girl's breasts are too tender to stand knocks. But so are the penis and testicles; so is the human eye. It does not prevent the male from risking and sometimes receiving injury in sport or other activities. The argument from physical vulnerability leads nowhere. The reason for the statement as to the woman's breasts is chiefly psychic sensitiveness in regard to regions associated with erotic pleasure,\* and retained in the case of the female owing to her greater narcissism. This sensitiveness in the female has a mainly psychic cause connected with, as I have indicated, the tendency which is fostered in her to turn her interest upon herself and her feelings, and particularly on her own body, lest it should get hurt. Excessive sensitiveness of this kind is not found apart from some psychic condition of infantilism in either sex.

<sup>\*</sup> The argument sometimes used that women are very prone to carcinoma of the breast as the result of injury is not applicable, for whether this be true or not (and recent research throws doubt upon it) in the earliest periods of life when rough games are the vogue, the disease is rare. Actually in primitive races who do not guard especially against injury to the breast we find no such alarming results.

another feature of the same condition is the woman's tendency to be easily fatigued and to believe that she requires "rest"; which usually means that the small amount of sublimated interest and energy which has been available is insufficient for the occupation of the time being, and her interest has therefore fallen back from that occupation, which is one of the commonest

psychological causes of tiredness.

The sexual repression of the girl and the tension and infantile outlets which are directly due to the present female education must, of course, be removed. From the start, the sexual curiosity of the girl more than that of the boy meets with careful and deliberate suppression. This is partly because a delusion of the nonsexuality of woman causes the idea that her sexual curiosity does not exist, but still more because the mother. from her own condition of repression and sexual ignorance (due to her own upbringing), cannot deal with it. Ideas that the appetites of sex are dirty, while those of the mouth and other parts of the body are clean, should be removed, and a full knowledge allowed to the child as soon as it begins to show curiosity in the matter. I know of several families in which this has been the actual method of education, and certainly no harm has resulted, but, on the contrary, a very much improved condition of character in both the boys and the girls.

In connection with this one cannot emphasize too strongly that the auto-sexual activities of children must be very differently dealt with by parents than is so often commonly the rule nowadays. Punishments, threats, and warnings, particularly those telling the children that such bad habits will cause either physical or mental deterioration, should be entirely eliminated. It must be realized, whether the parents know it or not, that auto-sexual habits are almost universal among children

of both sexes in some measure, even at the early age of less than three years; and, moreover, that without any teaching on the part of others, the child as frequently as not obtains consciousness of its feelings and learns these habits for itself. They are, indeed, in spite of opinions to the contrary, perfectly normal habits in small children. They are also habits through which and from which the child should grow fairly rapidly, and education in these matters should not be towards checking, which leads to repression, by punishment or threat, but should be directed towards finding as much suitable sublimated occupation for the child as possible. Essentially the child should be taught to take pleasure outside itself: it should put its energies on to objects surrounding it, rather than draw its energies within itself. Women especially are not taught sufficiently in childhood to find their pleasure and interests in things not connected with their own bodies. Here, again, is exactly one of the reasons why a woman so frequently persists in masturbation. Frequently if the child is encouraged to take its interests outside itself its auto-sexual habits will disappear of themselves. In other cases, and especially when the child grows a little older, encouragement may be given to it to cease its activities in this direction by explanation to it that it must learn, if possible, not on account of health or on account of morals, but on account of the necessity of fulfilling its place in the world, to substitute other activities of a more sublimated character, and to turn its thoughts from auto-sexual fantasies to other matters of interest outside itself.

We have already pointed out that masturbation is frequently a habit greatly exaggerated by feelings of inferiority belonging to the phallic complex. It is obvious, then, that those factors causing the formation of a strong phallic complex should be reduced to a minimum. One of these, we have seen, may come in the form of an emotional shock in the discovery of sex differences at the age of three or four; a shock which in Nature does not come about, since no clothes are worn. It will therefore be seen that from infancy children should become accustomed to seeing individual differences in the genital regions, and to look upon these as normal. For this purpose, it is obvious that the modesty between parents and children, or between boys and girls in childhood should be absent; at any rate, in so far as that they are brought up to see nakedness from infancy. "Modesty", in later life, should be a matter of expediency and not of emotion.

There are other factors preceding this into which it is impossible to go, which have to do with feeding, regulation of the bowels, and so forth. They may be summed up by stating that as few extra physical stimuli as possible should be encouraged in these matters.

The importance of a changed outlook and environment for the infant male must equally be taken into account. While ideas of inferiority of the female should not be suggested to the female child equally they must not be suggested to the male child. Ideas of the man as master or ruler should never be allowed entrance; ideas of superior strength either mentally or physically should equally be prevented. The young male should receive no suggestions inculcating courtesy or particular deference to the female, since all these only tend to increase his belief in his own superiority. Co-education in games as well as in work is as necessary for the boy as for the girl, and all ideas and wrong methods of sex instruction which intensify the phallic complex in the male must of necessity be avoided. Such ideas as that a woman should not be economically independent, or that she is less sexual, or less aggressive by nature, should no longer

be taught or encouraged,—in fact, reverse suggestions are very necessary for the male child to acquire and retain.

Co-education is necessary in all its branches, and mutual participation in play as well as in work. The plan has been tried in America, and also works in this country, though it is not universally adopted. Common interests for both sexes, which lead to interesting pursuits in common should become a conscious ideal, just as the possession of sublimated interests in common will become an essential of civilized love-choice, at least, as a rule, in the majority of cases. Exactly equal education from start to finish is necessary for both sexes; equal opportunities of the choice of a profession, and equally, while the occupations of men are thrown open to women, it is essential that the occupations of women should be thrown open to men. There are a large number of men who are fit for very little more than the lower non-intellectual forms of service; there are many men eminently suitable for domestic service, because this is not dependent upon man's temperament or woman's temperament, but upon the type of mind which, under conditions of equality, develops sometimes in one sex and sometimes in another

There is no logical reason why women should not enter the army under any suitable conditions, since at the present day as well as in the past women have shown themselves apt in war. There have also been efficient women explorers and big-game hunters. I mean that no occupation must be closed or opened merely on the ground of sex, but regulated by circumstances or convenience or physical fitness. Though at present probably the army would consist largely of men, the mere fact that for many years women did not actually enter the army would not matter. What does matter is the

attitude of mind to the subject and the factor of psychic

equality.

A point of the greatest importance is that children should be able to observe, consciously or unconsciously, in the parents the condition of equality to which we have referred. The fact of their inequality is an environmental determinant of much more importance than any conscious suggestions the parents may make. For instance, if the mother wears a skirt or pays attention to her appearance, or herself shows inferiority or inequality to the father, she is at once giving perpetual suggestions of difference, which tend to undo her conscious endeavours.

## SUMMARY TO CHAPTER XI

- I. Apart from psychic conditions, stated in the last chapter, many purely physical conditions tend towards inefficiency in women, among which may be mentioned many of her common articles of clothing, such as skirts, corsets, heels, etc.
- 2. This is further enhanced by what may be termed the "time factor", i.e. the extra percentage of time occupied by women in non-essentials.
- 3. A considerable degree of inefficiency is caused by the turning inwards of their interest, and the placing of their energy unconsciously upon "seeming", whether it refers to the physical appearance or to self-interest on the psychic plane, i.e. narcissism. This development of self-interest is very much greater in the female than in the male; hence it leads to her greater psychic inefficiency.
- 4. The tendency of the female, under present conditions, is to place an enormous amount of psychic energy in primitive or infantile sexual activities and hence, again, to have less energy for outward or useful application.
- 5. Consideration shows us that the remedy for both physical and psychic inefficiency discussed in this chapter is exactly the same as the remedy for the physiological inefficiency described in the last chapter. The ideal of complete non-differentiation on artificial grounds is necessary, and the condition of artificial differentiation which at present exists, requires eradication, not merely in the adult, in whom it would be difficult, but in the early training of children

of both sexes, where ideas of any kind of psychic superiority, or psychic difference, or physical superiority, or physical difference, apart from the actual physiological sex functions, tends by suggestion to increase and fix this erroneous idea in the individual mind.

### CHAPTER XII

#### THE MORAL AND ETHICAL RESULTS

When we come to consider the results of artificial differentiation of sex in relation to the ethical and moral standards of western civilization, we are met with one of the most extraordinary situations which it is possible to conceive. A paradox confronts us of enormous proportions, bewildering in its blindness and inconsistency. Truly in the psychic sphere the left hand does not know what the right hand does.

I have no moral axe to grind in this chapter; the question of good and evil, of one creed or another, does not arise. I merely wish to deal with facts as they are in relation to moral ideas commonly accepted. For the moment I am not concerned with any particular set of moral ideas, save only that of efficiency; the ideal that whatever one's hand finds to do should be done with all one's might, and that to formulate a conscious set of ideals on the one hand and on the other hand to stultify it with an unconscious set of activities, is, to say the least of it, an inefficient method of procedure, and one little calculated to work in harmony with the general belief which we possess of evolution from a lower to a higher form of life and activity.

Let us consider for a moment the conscious ideals on sexual morality which exist in this country; we shall see here our paradox, for they are entirely opposed to our actual activities.

In the first place, we obviously believe that sexual

matters are something to be kept out of everyday conversation and life, and we state very definitely in both our laws and our religion that the object of sex is the procreation of children, and that only in the married state should sex be considered by either male or female. In the case of the male, the unmarried male especially, a certain relaxation is made, not in the ideals but in the tolerance with which we permit the ideals to be infringed. In the case of the female, there is no such tolerance. We regard it as improper not only for a young woman before marriage to have experienced sexual feelings, but even to know her own anatomy and the anatomy of the male in any detail, or to be able to understand fully references to sexual feelings or to sexual ideas which the less repressed male is expected to be fully acquainted with. We find in the sexual education of children, both male and female, that the excretory organs and the sexual organs, which already have a number of psychic connections and are likely to be associated together by the child in any case, are classed in one group, a group which is associated with the idea of dirt and sin, a group which must not be discussed in open conversation, but which must be shrouded in secrecy. If the child wants a meal, it is permitted to ask aloud for it; if it requires the activity of excretion this must be mentioned only in a whisper and performed in secret. Any experiments of the child in the way of sexual curiosity we attempt to repress as soon as we have discovered their existence. If we catch a little boy or a little girl reading a scientific book which deals with reproduction of the species, we take the book away, we punish them, and we tell them that they will know all about that when they grow up and are married, but they must not know about it until then. If, at a later stage, a stage when they are reaching puberty, the youth or girl is found reading, shall we say, a certain type of novel, the same

repressive measures are enforced, and in all too many cases, without any attempt at stating the facts. It is true that of recent years a slight improvement has begun in this respect. The source of many existing troubles is that we set up an aim of keeping each human being as ignorant as possible of the true facts of sex, and only allow them enough knowledge, especially in the case of the female, to save them from undue shocks when they are married. We apparently think that this is an effective way of keeping human beings, both male and female, at the lowest possible ebb of sexual desire. In the case of the male this state of affairs is relaxed to some extent in practice, though not in theory, at the onset of puberty. In the case of the female it is never relaxed.

I remember an old lady saying to me once that modesty in a woman was her great safeguard against immorality. She failed to realize that the same force which causes the modesty entails immorality, for it has caused numbers of women to remain active sexual perverts, and allowed a large percentage of them to remain actively homosexual—a moral condition which in the male is regarded as much worse than any of the hetero-sexual activities which the community tolerates, and it is indeed rigorously punished as a specific crime.

At the same time, the "dominant male", in spite of the actual facts of the case, insists on believing that the female is, according to his definition of the term, "moral" and "pure", on the whole, by which he means ignorant of sexual feeling on the whole, and undesirous of sexual activity. At any rate as regards his own mother, sisters and relatives he considers that sexual activity is one of the minor interests of life, an activity performed not for the sake of pleasure, but for the sake of the children which will result, an activity which was dormant until marriage

and then only called forth in a mild way on account of the stimulus supplied by the husband. A respect for "sexless" women based on these ideas is not really valuable.

Let us see whence this belief comes, and how it succeeds in maintaining itself in spite of direct evidence to the contrary revealed by such facts as I have given in an earlier chapter in this book, and also by the experiences of a very large number of men, who, however, always try to limit the significance of the information gained by their experience to the people with whom they have attained their experience.

The sexuality of woman is perfectly in evidence in western cilivization, and observers all over the world point to similar facts.

Metchnikoff\*, for instance, tells us that "in some races masturbation is so much a custom among little girls that no attempt is made to conceal the practice. This occurs, for instance, among certain Hottentot tribes, and is referred to openly in talk and legends.† But in most races the practice is thought wrong, and is concealed as much as possible . . . "

We have already seen that such is the repression forced upon girls and such is the obloquy attached to such females as do not conform to the standards set for them, that the majority of them, although they may have practised either masturbation or homo-sexual masturbation, do not mention this even to their best friends, and tend therefore to consider themselves as exceptions to the rules of morality which they believe their neighbours follow. This tendency is carried into married life, and prevents, in nine cases out of ten, an otherwise truthful woman from telling the truth to her husband on this

<sup>\*</sup>Metchnikoff, E., The Nature of Man. †Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen "Sud-Afrikas.

point. I have found in analysis of a very large number of patients that one fact, in an otherwise thoroughly affectionate and honest wife, which she conceals from her husband is her pre-marital sexual condition. This tendency is obviously one of the factors which assists in maintaining the delusion of the non-sexuality of woman.

But there are other more potent forces at work to maintain the present situation, and these consist of the complexes of the man himself.

Let us turn our attention to these for a few moments. First, there is the eternal struggle of man to retain his position of power and dominance, and in order to do this he has to entrench himself at every point. We have seen when studying the phallic complex that the phallus, as a male attribute, has come to be a universal representative of real power, and that, in this complex, much of the masculine idea of power is associated with the idea of male sexual potency. We have further seen that when we cannot attain real power, we at least attempt to feel as though we have such power through our narcissistic, exhibitionistic, or other complexes.

Various unconscious ruses are resorted to in order to maintain the feeling of power in both men and women. On the part of the man it frequently takes the form of exaggerating the "frailty" of women, for by means of the courtesies he can extend to her he compensates for any unconscious fears of his own inferiority. It is important for him to feel the superiority of his attributes in the matter of the phallic symbols, as this supports the conscious feeling of supremacy. He tends to deny even the sexual potency of women. Plato might deny that woman contributed anything to the making of the child, but in these days of scientific knowledge a man cannot do that; but he can deny all the accessories of potency which are like his own, such as adult sexual feel-

ings centred in the clitoris\*, aggressive desires which are normal, and in particular, sexual freedom and the expression of it in society, for freedom belongs to power.

Hence this phallic complex in man is a very potent factor in preserving for him the idea that woman is less sexually excitable and more "moral" than himself.

It is even more strongly exemplified when we realize that while he looks up to the woman whom he considers incapable of sexual feelings, he has a strong tendency to despise the men in a similar position, and he thinks of them as effeminate and lacking in strength. The impotent man is frequently an object of ridicule; a sexless woman to man is an object of praise.

The second factor which comes into play is known amongst analysts as the Oedipus complex. It is not necessary for me in this work to go fully into the details of this, by any means, but I might just go into one aspect of it, to show the bearing of this complex on the problem.

It is a fact that the majority of men tend to believe that their mothers were never very sexual persons; that their mothers ever had sexual experience before marriage is to a very large number of them unthinkable. Time after time I have had my patients tell me that they knew in the particular case of their mothers that their mothers only had sexual intercourse with their father because they thought it was their duty to have children.

I remember a debate which I attended at a certain hospital on the subject of psychoanalysis, and the objection that a large number of medical students raised to the subject was not a scientific one at all, but based on the fact that psychoanalysts might show that mothers were more erotic than they desired to think them. There is, in fact, a strong desire for each son to look upon his mother as sexless as far as actual sexual feelings are concerned.

<sup>\*</sup> See Appendix.

There is an obvious reason for this, which is well-known to all psychologists, and that is that the infant desires his mother to belong to him above all people. I do not mean that the infant desires sex with the mother, but that in all things she is the chief centre of interest and love for the child, and that the primitive child resents the power of other people over the mother, even the power of the father. As the child grows older, so, gradually, does he realize that the man who possesses strong sexual attraction for his mother has in a sense power over her in that way, but in many others this phallic symbol as a sign of power is ingrained in the youth, as well as the actual knowledge that sexual attraction represents power. This is, of course, all unconscious, and in the youth ideas of sex concerning his mother will be repressed, because it represents to him something which takes his mother away from him. He cannot possess the mother if she is possessed by somebody else. There is, in fact, a strong sex interest of the child for the mother, though it is, maybe, of a negative rather than a positive kind.

I had a very good example of this in a case I was analysing some time ago, in which the mother of one of my patients had been divorced.

A man in the early forties came to me for treatment, and amongst other information that he gave me, he told me that he had not seen his mother for ten years, that he disliked her intensely, that he hoped he never would see her again. It transpired that as a boy he had been exceedingly fond of his mother; that when his father was away from home, he hoped his father would stay away from home, for he liked to take his place; and that up to somewhere about the age of seventeen his mother had been everything to him. When he was seventeen, however, his father divorced his mother because she went abroad and lived with some other man. My patient knew

nothing of the details of the case at the time, and his inclination was to blame the father for being the cause of the trouble and to excuse his mother. He imagined that she could not possibly have had any erotic desires towards this other man, but that obviously she must have been ill treated, and had merely gone away for protection.

But at a later period, she sent the boy a message that she wished to see him, and he went to meet her. To his surprise she did not mention the subject: she did not excuse herself: she did not blame the father: and this put doubts into his mind. When he had seen other relations a little later, they had confirmed the fear that had begun to creep into his mind, that his mother had really fallen in love with another man, and that this entailed sex. He was horrified at his mother: he was angry with her, and gradually the wish came into his mind never to see her again. He did not, however, see how this meant on his part a sexual interest in his mother. although he said that he had amongst his friends other women who had done this same thing, and he was not horrified with them, nor was he angry with them. He explained it satisfactorily to himself by saying that he was only angry and horrified with his mother because he had been "so fond" of her, and, he added: "she let me down ''.

We at once see in the words "let *me* down", an unconscious admittance, at any rate, that his anger and horror had a selfish origin, although he was not conscious of that fact. I tried the experiment of asking him a few questions, to see if they would lead to his gaining a little more self-knowledge.

I said to him: "Suppose you had discovered that your mother, after all, had only gone away for protection, and that the man she had gone with had no erotic thoughts towards her at all?"

"In that case", he replied, "I think I should have been quite happy if she had gone away because my father was cruel; I should have forgiven her leaving him. I quite realize, when I think of it, that it was the element of sex towards the other man which horrified me." I said: "Then you do admit having a sexual interest in your mother?" He thought for a moment and said: "Yes; my sexual interest was obviously to keep her without sex."

And he realized that this, as it may be called, negative sex interest which he had in the mother had as its underlying idea his own possession of her, and that the sexual possession of her by another man was a demonstration to his unconscious mind that he really did not possess her completely, that his power over her was comparatively small.

Here we come upon a significant factor. It further occurred to him at this point that he had regarded most women as almost as sexless as his mother. Obviously, if he had regarded most women as strongly sexual creatures, he would have had much more difficulty in excluding his mother from the list. Therefore he rationalized unconsciously, as most men are doing, that, in order to preserve the mother inviolate as his infantile possession, most other women were built on the same plan as his mother; and that psychically the sexual woman was an exception. By such processes as these men tend to divide women into two classes, the sexless (or mother) type, and the sexual, and thus comes about that false division between love and sexuality which is the ruin of so many marriages. And the woman also makes the same kind of distinction.

Other types of this Oedipus complex, which are of equal importance, it is unnecessary for me to go into for the purpose of this work, and I would refer readers who wish to pursue the matter further to examine any book on modern psychology which they may care to read.

§ 2

There is also a third factor at work, which is equally strong, that is the purely narcissistic factor.

The narcissistic factor, as has already been pointed out, tends to make everyone, not only identify his properties with himself, but attempt to feel as near perfection as possible. The more narcissistic a person is the more does he tend to identify himself thus.

"If his narcissism has been allowed to remain, the adult will identify himself with his belongings. He will be absurdly upset at the breaking of a tea-cup which belongs to him, at the theft of some jewellery, at damage however trifling. He cannot realize that these things which belong to him are more or less unimportant trifles, which can be replaced, or if they cannot be replaced, can be equally well done without, if he has attained that philosophical attitude of mind which belongs to the person who has thrown off this uncomfortable spirit of narcissistic identification. . . . . It is the same with his house or his books, with his relations, with everything that is even distantly connected with him, He will speak in high praise of them all, and be anxious, at all times to show them off, and to uphold their virtues to all comers."\*

How much more then if he attaches such ideas of perfection to his property and belongings will he attach importance to the perfection of his parents, and since, as is usually the case, both the boy and girl have been brought up from childhood to look upon sexuality in the woman as objectionable, their very narcissism will be in harmony with their ego-ideal here and will cause them to feel that of all women their dearest possession, their mother, must not and cannot have sexual proclivities.

In view of all these forces acting together, it is not to \*Paul Bousfield, The Omnipotent Self.

be wondered that we practise self-deception in this matter. The facts are completely opposite to our beliefs, yet we cling to these beliefs in order to support our own feelings and desires.

All this, however, is only one aspect of this paradox of sexual morality to which we referred in the beginning of the chapter. Let us proceed to examine the field from a wider point of view.

## § 3

Owing to the paradox of maintaining an ideal of sublimation of sex and the repression of it on the one hand, and of stimulating sexual tension at every possible moment on the other, we find that sexual activity and sexual perversion is a hundredfold more prominent among civilized humanity than it is among the lower animals.

In the lower animals the activity is largely confined to certain periods of the year, though not entirely so; and at other periods for the most part very little difference is to be found between the sexes, either in their habits, their hunting, or their other manifestations of vital activity.

We have already seen that our conscious ideal or aim appears to be to relegate sex to the background of life, as something not particularly nice, and at least we have an ambition to sublimate as much as possible of that energy in other activities, though the term sublimation is not used in ordinary life. It is recognized that occupations, games and pursuits of various kinds are useful in children who have what we term too strong sexual feelings or tendencies, and we utilize the same idea to some extent in after-life. At any rate, we put down as our aim the confining of sexual activities to married persons only, and even there we frequently find a tendency to suggest that sex should only be indulged in as little as possible,

except for the purpose of procreation. While we do not generally go quite as far as St. Paul, who said\*, "It is better to marry than to burn", still, the same tendency is present.

And now we come to the paradoxical activity. We spend a vast quantity of our energy stimulating both consciously and unconsciously erotic feelings. The Church, the law, social customs are filled with continual stimuli to sexual activity, applied by differentiation, to wake it up even unnecessarily when it is dormant. What should we think of the wisdom of that person who, knowing that he had a tendency towards alcoholism, kept in his rooms bottles labelled "whisky" or "brandy", or the like? If he knew and recognized that he had a tendency to take alcohol, he would, at least, fall in with the oft-quoted lines of the prayer: "Lead us not into temptation." And to keep a bottle of whisky in his room would scarcely be the best way of avoiding his tendency. Yet that is exactly what we are doing with our ideals as regards sex. In every possible set of circumstances we call attention to the difference between the two sexes. Do we go out to dine, we are paired off two by two according to the nature of our sex, with little reference as to whether we may have anything in common with the person. many other activities, whether dancing, or tennis, or other occupations, the tendency is the same. On all special occasions, where pleasure is being sought, we exaggerate this still more by putting our females into clothes which accentuate their sex through the medium that gratifies the primitive impulse of exhibitionism.

We start them off in life by giving them different types of names according to sex, male names and female names, and having thus labelled them, we continue to call attention to it throughout the whole of their lives.

<sup>\*</sup>I Corinthians, VII, 9.

In the case of the female, we have recently put them on a still lower level than the male by our nomenclature, by dividing them into married and unmarried; that is, we call them Mrs or Miss\*, in order to show what has happened to their sex, and whether they belong to somebody or not. In the case of the superior male, this formality does not hold good. Separately considered, all such points may be considered trivial, but taken together they both indicate and maintain an attitude of mind which is of an importance very far from trivial.

Even in religion, apparently the God that civilized people worship has ordered that the same attention shall be called to the matter in church, for if a man wears a hat in church he is turned out, and if a woman takes hers off, the same happens, although no doubt the origin of the ancient custom comes from the unconscious realization that the woman's hair has a strong erotic significance. The paradox is thus carried right into religion, for, together with this and more important forms of differentiation made in our churches, we have St Paul telling the people that; "in Christ there is neither male nor female ". t

Now there is no objection to this erotic stimulus being applied continually if the pleasure principle is all we have in view, but if we maintain an ideal of a contrary nature it is not difficult to see what conflicts, conscious and unconscious, will arise out of it. Many will, no doubt, reply that I am exaggerating the nature of the sex stimulus, that this artificial differentiation does not cause such stimulus, and that it does not tend to waste psychic energy; but a very little open-minded observation will show that the facts are really as they are stated.

<sup>\*&</sup>quot; Miss" is a diminutive of the older word "Mistress," originally used in addressing married and unmarried women. "Miss" formerly applied only to small children. † Galations, III, 28. ‡ Cf. The Nineteenth Century for Dec., 1916, for an article on Women Preachers, by M. A. R. Tuker.

Take the subject of dancing, for instance.

It is common knowledge that a good deal of flirtation not only takes place but is expected at such functions. Sitting out chairs are placed in convenient corners: jokes about the pairing-off of certain individuals are very common. Furthermore, one knows that a large number of actual engagements to be married are the outcome of these functions. But, apart from that, we have other information. It is by no means uncommon, and I have known of several cases, for women to get actual sexual orgasms in the course of the dance, and although one does not pretend that this is usual, the fact in itself is significant. Still, further, however, one knows that many men are stirred sexually to a considerable extent—the conversation of many of them when they get together after a dance is quite sufficient to convince sceptics of this fact. I have, again, known of many instances where the stimulation acquired at the dance has been such as to lead to some sort of sexual relief being found by men after it is over. We have yet other evidence that these ideas are in the minds of a good many people, and not people who are commonly termed "puritanical". For instance, a recent play called The Dancers, in which the chief motive was to show the sexual nature and the unhappy result of modern dancing, could hardly have originated in the brain of the author, nor been played with such power by Sir Gerald du Maurier, and discussed with so much emotion by its audiences, had there not been a considerable foundation for it.

The following statement on the subject comes not this time from the stage but from the Church\*:

"A stir has been caused throughout the province of Quebec by a decree issued by Cardinal Begin, Archbishop of Quebec, the Roman Catholic Primate of Canada, placing

<sup>\*</sup>The Daily Mail, 18th December, 1923.

dances, including the waltz, fox-trot, and the one-step, under the ban of the Church.

"The decree threatens to ban theatres and kinemas unless they are improved morally, and it also strongly condemns the present fashionable attire for women, which it characterizes as immodest.

"As the hotels and cabarets have just arranged popular programmes for Christmas and the New Year, the Cardinal's decree has come as a heavy blow. Many private functions have been cancelled."

Describing dances, including the old-fashioned polka, which is not danced nowadays, as "lascivious," the Cardinal says: "We expressly forbid them. So if anyone—which God forbid—dare indulge in them or permit them to be danced in his house, that person would commit the grave sin of disobedience. Such dances, by the attitudes they imply, destroy virtue."

Describing modern female attire as "another form of revived paganism", the Cardinal declares: "The higher the rank held by a woman the more strict is her duty not to allow women who visit her to offend her modesty."

It is quite true that a very large number of people who attend dances have no conscious erotic thoughts stirred up thereby. But analysis shows that the pleasure entailed is invariably an erotic one, though unconscious. Again, one has no objection, pure and simple, to such erotic stimuli, in themselves, were it not for the fact that it is opposed to the ideal of efficient sublimation at which people consciously aim, or at least state that they are striving for consciously, and that it is a stirring of emotion which cannot be satisfied and can only lead to conflicts of some sort in the majority of people; and even though those conflicts are unconscious they effectively oppose psychic evolution and progress.

Let us take one other example, perhaps the most

important of all in this question of stimuli caused by artificial differentiation. That example has to do with dress.

We have already shown that women's clothing, for the most part, belongs to that infantile condition known as exhibitionism, a displacement of erotic ideas which are unconscious or partially unconscious in the mind from the reproductive areas to other parts of the body. We have shown how this may affect the subject of marriage, and lead to selection of an inferior being, physically and mentally; let us consider it here, however, merely from its aspect as a general erotic stimulus.

We must remember that in the human race sight is our chief preliminary sexual stimulus; in some animals it is smell, in others, contact; but in the human race the eye seems to be the first important factor. Contact and other forms of impulse come in at a later period.

It will be remembered that at an earlier stage in this book we quoted a letter in a newspaper in which the author states: "In dress, customs, and many other ways, we shout our sex to all and sundry as soon as we come over the horizon."

That this is accurately and literally true will be seen in the following trivial yet significant incident.

A medical student I knew, of a comparatively normal temperament, related to me that he was seated near the edge of a cliff on the south coast during his vacation, reading hard at anatomy for a forthcoming examination. He happened to glance up from his book, and, climbing over the stile about a mile away, he caught sight of what could only be a brilliantly coloured "jumper" on some individual. He at once started to speculate on the looks and appearance of what was evidently a female. He told me that he was annoyed at this; at that moment he certainly did not wish to be interested in women, and he

found it difficult under the circumstances to put his mind back to his work, for every few moments he would look up from the anatomy and watch the approaching person, whom he did not know and in whom he should have had no personal interest. As he remarked to me, "If only the blessed creature had not worn such a brilliant jumper, I should not have noticed her sex till she was quite close to me."

The incident in itself is, of course, a trivial one, but it shows how the differentiation which we are so accustomed to does stimulate the curiosity at a much earlier stage and much more forcibly than nature by herself would have done.

There is no doubt, of course, besides the actual stimulus of sight there is the further one of sexual curiosity, and this is stimulated even more unconsciously than the former. One more point. By half hiding any object, curiosity is enormously stimulated; complete exposure or complete hiding may leave conflicts but partially stirred, but the half-seen at once suggests the forepleasure or stimulus of the completely seen. Artists have appreciated this in their paintings. The nude in woman does not attract nearly so much in the picture as the nude surrounded by a thin veil of gauze.

It is interesting to note that this "half-seen" is one of the essential ideas adopted in women's clothing, in the method of cutting the neck of the blouse or the sleeves of her gown; and even if she has a plain gown she will often add suggestions which are only appreciated by unconscious association of ideas, by means of such things as transparent chiffons or laces added over the top of the clothing itself; and there is no doubt that this continual stimulation to sexual curiosity produces unconsciously as much as consciously conditions of sexual tension sometimes small, sometimes great.

It will be observed of course that even when the woman has obtained her husband, she does not cease from this continual production of sexual tension in other men by means of her clothing. It is a perfectly useless form of energy expenditure in most cases; it is absolutely wasteful in its results, and does not assist the practice of constancy after marriage; and, again, it is completely opposed to that ideal which at least is inculcated in all children, and which in ordinary conversation one would suppose still to exist in the adult. But it does not lead merely to a state of unsatisfactory tension in the other sex; it leads also to a large amount of acts and attempts to relieve the tension.

Thus, if we next turn to consider the subject of prostitution, a somewhat similar state of affairs may be observed. One of the principal factors here at work in aggravation of this trouble of civilization is once more the excessive degree of sexual tension which is produced by artificial sexual stimuli.

A large number of men, once their ideas and habits have been formed, go out regularly in search of a prostitute; that is they have almost stated periods at which they regard this as part of their vital programme. But there is also a very large number of men who do not go out with that deliberate intent, but who are, as it were, caught in much the same way as a needle is caught by the magnet. The prostitute relies on her dress and makeup to produce tension in the man when that state of sexual tension is not there, with the result that the tension seeks relief and is relieved, although without the stimulus it would not have been aroused.

States of sexual tension produced in the man by entirely unconscious desires of women under these artificial conditions may be quite as compelling a force as any verbal suggestion. In cases of seduction, apart from prostitution, the man is conventionally held in fault; the reason given being that he has persuaded or cajoled the woman by his words or actions. Yet prior to that he has frequently himself been cajoled by the stimulus of her manner or appearance or adornment, which, under some conditions, he may be no more able to resist than she is able to resist his active persuasion. One may liken such a case to the behaviour of the magnet and the piece of iron. One cannot "blame" either the magnet or the piece of iron alone.

The fact that the stimuli are frequently produced quite unconsciously by the female does not remove the share of responsibility attaching to her, or rather to the conditions of civilization of which she is, at any rate, partially the product.

In these cases "blame" will be assigned and remedies proposed by various persons according to their own mental constitution, but if we wish to look at the matter impartially we shall be able to trace at least part of this tendency to place the onus on the male to that desire of the male himself to feel that he is dominant; for if the man is to blame and the woman is not to blame, it is perfectly clear on the whole that the man is a potent being and the woman very much less so. We find, as a matter of fact, in referring to conditions in which women were dominant that the reverse held good. In ancient Sparta\*, for instance, breaches of the moral code were punished by law in the case of the woman, but looked upon merely as immoral in the case of the man. Nowadays breaches of the moral code are punished by law in the case of the man, and the woman is looked upon as the immoral though helpless one. In the case of Sparta, it was the dominance of woman that made the law and made it with the unconscious determinant of feeling the

<sup>\*</sup>Dr Schulte-Vaerting, Die Friedens-Politik des Perikles.

more potent of the two sexes. A similar condition held good among the ancient Teutons, in the time of female dominance among them. The women were severely punished for immorality, but the men, being in subjection, were not blamed. The women were looked upon as the seducers; the weaker men as the seduced. Everywhere, in proportion as one sex is endeavouring to maintain its dominance, the more will it maintain its own sex to be the more potent, and therefore the one to whom blame should be attached in all cases of breaches of the moral code.

We may point out in passing that in the state of Sparta and in the ancient state of Egypt, under woman dominance, female prostitution appears to have been unknown; there was a certain amount of male prostitution, in which young males were sought out by the women and paid for their services in various ways, but this was very limited, since men were unable to fulfil the position of prostitutes to women with any degree of certainty or frequency, on account of physiological considerations, and in these states the desire for prostitution was all on the women's side, since it was customary for them to make the advances to men.

As a matter of fact, the women in Sparta, when they were dominant, showed their sexuality rather differently, and at one period polyandry was practised. Although it was considered improper for a man to be unfaithful to his wife, it was not only permissible, but also praiseworthy, for the wife to have sexual connection with a handsome unmarried man. And we have in this a good instance of the fact that under certain conditions such as obtained in Sparta there was no tendency on the part of the women to show themselves less sexually excitable than men.

We get many other examples of the result of the per-

petual artificial stimulus which produces sexual tension. For instance, I frequently have to deal with people whose marital state is unhappy, and with others to whom the divorce courts are not unknown; and in nearly all instances one finds that the marriages have been preceded by an attraction largely made up of the artificial differentiation which produced an attractive visual appearance in the woman, and that which she seemed to be was sufficient to produce the marriage. Her temperament, her inclinations and other factors, which are important in making a lifelong contract, were entirely overshadowed by the repeated states of tension produced by the stimuli of artificial differentiation without sublimated interest in common, and for every case that comes to light in the divorce court, one must realize that there are thousands more cases of disharmony which do not proceed to the logical result of separation.

Here let us observe that the well-meaning people who attempt to reduce the amount of divorce, prostitution, disease and other similar troubles of civilization do not go to the cause of the trouble, but confine themselves to dealing with its symptoms; partly, no doubt, because the community does not tolerate drastic measures. more, however, it is because they do not know the psychological factors which are present. These troubles will not be genuinely improved or removed until the scales of prejudice and unconscious mental reservations in our own favour have fallen from our eyes and we are enabled therefore to face the facts as they are. Self-knowledge may mean humiliating discoveries. Yet, until the psychological factors present in social evils are better understood and recognized than they are now, so that we may cease to create on the one hand the very troubles which on the other hand we attempt to remove, measures of reform will not attain their object, and the energies of society will continue to be half-paralysed.

§ 5

There are two points of view to be considered here. There are two sets of people with different ideals; on the one hand, there is quite a large number of people who do not in reality possess serious ideas on the subject of progress at all. Conventionally, in order to conform with others, they pretend to do so, but frankly they have no thought for the future; posterity is nothing to them; their ideal they state openly to be to obtain as much pleasure out of life as possible.

There are very many persons who belong to that class, but who do not know it; that is to say, they have a vague conscious belief in progress, but, beneath this, their activities are practically ruled by the desire for pleasure, though they will rationalize in order to feel that this is not so. Such people are perfectly consistent, not only in upholding the present condition of affairs, but in going even further in extending the means of pleasure. It is perfectly consistent for them, for instance, not merely to maintain artificial differentiation, but to increase it, for thus they increase the pleasure of living, at least for themselves and their kind (they are found in all classes), although for others, e.g. for the few million women who are unmarried and have to depend upon themselves for their livelihood, they are, of course, continuing to put a stumbling block in the way of efficiency. This, however, is perfectly legitimate if the ideal remains selfpleasure all the time.

But there is a large class of people who not only profess but really desire to share the process of further evolution and help to bring about social and ethical progress, and for them this paradox of building with the right hand and destroying with the left becomes a serious inconsistency. It is true they are not to be blamed for it, since it is largely unconscious, but the inconsistency impedes all attempts to improve the moral and social standards of the race. For as fast as people try to check evils at one point (e.g. the Archbishop's prohibition of certain dances, as mentioned previously), the activity breaks out at another; they spend their efforts, like Hercules, in fruitless labour of cleansing the Augean stables. The fault lies in the fact that they ignore all the unconscious determinants. They believe in what they see; they judge in such matters from the standpoint in which they have been brought up, and they are almost unable to realize the facts of the case from any other standpoint.

In most cases they do not want to realize them, and succeed unconsciously in avoiding such realization.

Now let us consider the necessary steps to take in adjusting such a paradox as this. In the case of the first class of persons—and it is a large one,—who are content with society as it is, whose ideals extend but little beyond the desire for pleasure or for money, or for power, and to whom the suffering and strife outside their own ken is an unrealized matter and of but little importance, no remedy whatsoever is needed. Many people belong to this class without knowing it. Their self-satisfaction makes them feel very comfortable and believe that they have ideals which they do not really possess. It is quite right, of course, that they should have their say as to changes that affect them personally. These people wish for no change, and change is forced on none. Evolutionary processes force nothing, yet, on the other hand, will not be permanently held back. Sooner or later, whatever cannot progressively adapt itself passes away, and with it the institutions and customs which belong thereto. These people must be left out of consideration; progress has little to hope from them.

But turning to the other class of people who do possess

the desire to assist progress and who have regard for continual social evolution and the improvement of culture and human relations, the inconsistency of the paradox in which we find ourselves becomes harder to avoid. The growth and progress of the individual and of society are seen to possess common features.

Moral growth is impeded by several factors, and it is remarkable that among them we find just the same ones which impede physical improvement of the race and even lead towards deterioration, and again the same which hinder and impede the full use and efficiency of psychic energy in women. Once again the artificial sex-differentiation which our civilized customs seem designed to force upon us at every turn gives a key to the situation, and again the improvement lies in the direction of the removal of this, and the release of energy bound up in it for use in other more sublimated and less primitive channels of interest and activity. The amount of energy which is wasted upon inefficient useless sexual activities, on producing sexual stimuli which never come to fruition, and in the expression of primitive impulses that are disguised so that they do not consciously appear to be erotic, though they are so in reality, is very great. As long as women continue to devote on the average more time to these activities than men do, or so long as they are expected by society to do so, women cannot hope to have so much energy to spend in other directions. So long as women's energies are not fully utilized and employed, that is to say, equally freed and sublimated in childhood, to the same extent as those of men, society is deprived of a large part of its resources.

There is no imputation of latent inferiority to women here. Social environment and early suggestion in their education produce a too general state of sexual immaturity and repression, and full psychic maturity cannot exist with an immature infantile condition of the sexual life, whether in the male or female. Under female dominance it is apparently the men who manifested the infantile traits of character, and whose energies were limited by it; under male dominance it appears to be the women's.

Exaggerated artificial sex-differentiation appears everywhere in association with these conditions, both as product and as cause of further aberration, and while it is not the only factor concerned, it is a prominent one, and the only one I am attempting to deal with in this book.

The matter of dress is such a very obvious product of the artificial attitude we adopt: the clothing and manner of adornment for the two sexes should be the same, so that as soon as an individual walks over the horizon he should no longer call special attention to his or her particular desirability in this sphere. Clothing should be regulated by convenience, freedom of movement, comfort and hygiene: not by sex\*. Social customs should cease to be regulated mainly on the lines of sex; we must even walk in to our dinner tables like the animals of Noah's ark, two by two, according to sex! Social pleasures should take into consideration intellectual and emotional sympathies instead of sex. Matters of courtesy and etiquette, again, must have no relation to this: courtesy has regard to all individuals as a matter of course, with especial reference to age or physical health.

Dancing has already been mentioned. Here, again, the remedy is not that there should be no dancing, for as an exercise it is no doubt excellent, but that it should cease to be chiefly a matter in which the sexes are paired off and placed in close contact under the most alluring

<sup>\*</sup>Cf. Ward, Dynamic Sociology. "The dress of men is not all it should be, but that of women is certainly a disgrace to civilization." The whole of this passage relating to the condition of the female

The whole of this passage relating to the condition of the female sex in society may be read with advantage; but the sexual psychology is somewhat misleading.

conditions of exhibitionism for hours. It should rather tend (as of course it does with many persons) to take its place amongst the games and sports which have as their object physical exercise, on the one hand, and sublimated interest on the other, such as acquirement of skill in new forms of activity.

Of all the remedies which I have previously mentioned, the most important one is the principle of avoidance of the suggestions of difference, whether of superiority or of inferiority, between the sexes throughout the environment of the infant and the small child, the physical differences of their organs of sex being neither concealed nor emphasized, but, when the child becomes curious on the subject, explained truthfully in a way suited to the occasion and its age.

Ideas that sexual functions are in any way abnormal or nasty should never for a moment be allowed to enter their heads. Ideas of responsibility and control should replace those of ignorance and spurious innocence. Here again, however, among the determining factors of the greatest importance will be the complexes of the parents themselves quite apart from conscious teaching. Their subsequent education should afford opportunities for the same interests, the same dress, and, still later, the same freedom of choice of occupation, with the idea of an equal economic responsibility. The methods which at present foster the narcissism of women must be eliminated.

As they grow up they should be taught to realize that the ultimate aim of all the primitive impulses of sex is that of an adult hetero-sexual type, and that the continual stirring of erotic tension, the continual utilization of impulses away from such an aim, is not only wasted energy, but is the height of folly. Consider how absurd it is, for instance, that we should not only tolerate but

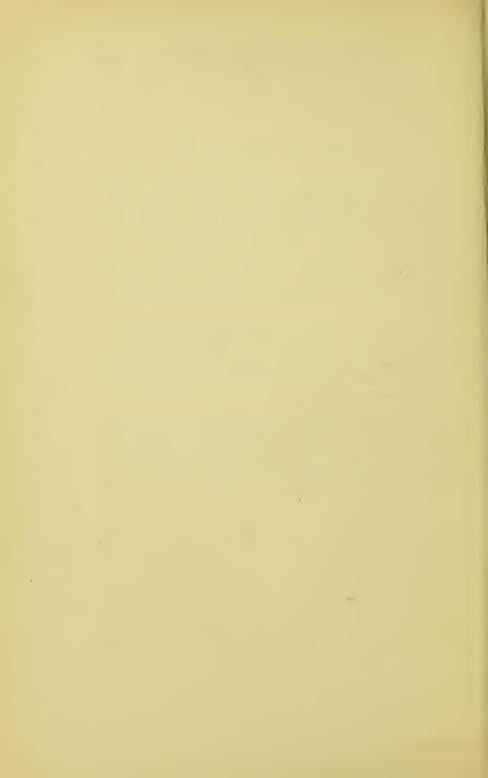
encourage a married woman to devote unconsciously her primitive erotic impulses towards stimulating tension in somebody's else husband, when neither she nor the man have any intention whatever of consummating any sexual act. It is just as useless a proceeding as would be the laying out of the Christmas repast in order to walk into the room and smell it and then leave again without tasting it; and yet the waste of energy in such directions as this, and its accompanying lowering of standard is enormous. It is not as if pleasure and happiness could not be obtained without them. Consider for a moment: we have only to go back to the days of the immortal Pepvs to find men were more interested in their clothing than women. No doubt, had anyone informed men who were in the habit of spending two or three hours a day on their toilet, that they could find equally interesting occupations and that their descendants would do so, they would have thought it impossible. Yet in the short space of time that has passed Englishmen have certainly ceased to take a major interest in their adornment, yet they do not lack other interests. They have developed other habits which absorb the energy and give them just as much pleasure. Thus there is no reason why the women also should not find "sublimated" outlets in interests of a higher nature, equally as absorbing as their present self-decorative and so-called "feminine" ones.

Yet again there are other alterations in our attitude of mind which must take place. Whatever moral code is extant, it is perfectly obvious that any breaking of this code should be treated equally, whether the man or the woman is the culprit in question. Inequalities of this sort forced upon the subject sex by the dominant sex in order to protect their own feelings of potency must obviously be swept away. Moreover, the illegitimate child must have a status of equality with the legitimate

one. That a slur should be cast upon a child because of some activity which it is not responsible for must obviously cease. The mere fact that a child is born in wedlock is no criterion of the real morality of its parents. Many such a child was unintended and was the result of an accident, and ideas of superiority attached to children who are legitimate, as against those who are illegitimate, are at once in themselves immoral, and even in our present semi-barbarous condition quite out of date.

### SUMMARY TO CHAPTER XII

- I. In the moral sphere we find a great paradox. Moral and religious ideals very definitely hold that sex should be relegated to a comparatively small portion of life, and that unnecessary stimulation of it is deplorable. Actually the community artificially stimulates erotic tension at every possible point. They avoid realization and criticism, however, either by denying it, or by keeping it just below the threshold of active consciousness by means of various disguises.
- 2. Actually this state of affairs stultifies our moral and ethical principles. In point of fact, the waste of energy in erotic pursuits is enormously greater than would normally be the case without artificial methods of stimulating and disguising them.
- 3. We find, once again, that the inefficiency of our observance of the ethical codes can materially be remedied by the same methods of training and education which have already been found necessary in connection with the physiological, physical, and psychic efficiency of women.



## CHAPTER XIII

#### CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters of this book I have endeavoured to weigh the evidence as carefully as possible. I am aware that there are gaps here and there; that the evidence on one point or another is incomplete, and that in some cases further research may modify or alter some detail either of the psychological or physiological work quoted. But if we weigh the evidence as a whole, we can see that its cumulative effect is strikingly manifested in one direction. The evidence is striking because, whether we examine the subject from the standpoint of

- (a) physiological health, strength, and efficiency;
- (b) psychological health and efficiency;
- (c) moral and ethical health and efficiency;
- (d) historical evidences,

—the same conclusion is reached, irrespective of the conclusion reached in regard to the other three. From all these points of view we find that our present conception of sex attributes is for the most part erroneous and deleterious, and that to obtain improvement or equality of the sexes in any of these spheres the complete elimination of artificial sex differences is necessary. Put in another way, sex equality, from whatever point of view it is looked at, depends not only on the male giving up his present artificial privileges, signs of dominance, government, dual code of morality, and his sovereignty generally, but it entails a simultaneous surrender of the female's spurious substitutes for this, because the sub-

stitutes are of a primitive nature, which prevent her from taking full advantage of the alternative privileges. dislike that woman has for this mutual surrender was very strongly shown to me some fifteen years ago, when I first gave a lecture on this subject to members of the "Women's Freedom League" at Stoke Newington. One or two of the women in the audience who were most keen on obtaining their vote and other privileges of equality, had their complexes so heavily touched by some of these ideas that they rose and left the hall. And this very show of their emotions was perhaps one of the clearest psychological evidences of the truth of the ideas expressed. For it is only when we feel unconsciously that there may be some truth in an assertion that our emotions over-ride our judgment, and we "protest too much". It is an exemplification of the old proverb "qui s'excuse, s'accuse". What did strike me, however, was that several of the men in the audience came and congratulated me, and an old gentleman and his wife were most pressing in their desire that I should give a series of lectures on this subject. It occurred to me even then that the reason that the old gentleman and his wife had not the same resistance as some of the young women was that they had nothing to lose by any surrender, and they were therefore able to look at the subject with less bias.

I wish to deal next with some objections which have perhaps arisen in the minds of readers who have followed my argument so far as this. The first is the lingering idea that in the attempt to remove artificial sex differences we may remove something essential. But I have only suggested a method of avoidance of the inculcation of artificial differences, not a method of destroying natural ones. The whole question resolves itself not into one of natural differences between the sexes, which certainly exist, but of whether the present differences which we

cultivate are natural. By using the term "artificial differentiation", to describe some of these I am indicating at the outset the conclusion I have reached, and have given the reasons. Artificial differences overshadow normal ones under present conditions, and at the same time exaggerate and over stimulate the normal sexual instinct. Many questions, of course, arise which cannot at present be answered, both as to physical and mental factors, on which continual investigation is proceeding, and it is not possible yet even to draw complete distinctions between characteristics which really are natural and which are artificial, but it is very important to remember the distinction, because assumptions are made as to the fundamental nature of some of these differences.

Artificial differences I should define as those which can be proved by experiment to be passed on to the young by suggestion and imitation in the course of their education, and so are the product of environment and not innate. Experiment has, to some extent, been made with animals and in the human family. Families in which to-day as little difference as possible is made between the children on the ground of their sex, show that there is no interferences with the normal sexual instinct itself by treating both sexes alike, and encouraging the same sports and pursuits.

The idea of equality aimed at is not to be confused with uniformity. True differentiation is that which will be carried out on lines of individuality and interest; that of sex in which we have been trained up is subordinate, and being a more rudimentary type of social psychic differentiation, will be discarded. Nothing seems to be gained by the further elaboration of difference based on sex.

Let me turn to another belief held by many people in accordance with the habits in which they have been brought up. This is the prevailing idea that there does exist an equality between the sexes, but one which is independent of their present obvious inequalities. It is seen in such statements as that from *The Princess*:

"Woman is not undeveloped man, But diverse"\*

and may be summarized in Legouvé's epigram: "L' égalité, mais l' égalité dans la différence "†.

It is worth while drawing attention to this point of view, for it may be said to sum up the belief on the subject of the relation between the sexes at present. This equality in difference is a complete rationalization, for it will always be taken in application to any form of existing differentiation according to the time and place and the mind of the persons using it, and will be believed to justify these existing differences by means of a theoretical instead of a real equality in the face of existing facts.

M. Legouvé writes from the condition of male dominance, and equality in difference means to him "inférieurs par un cote, supérieurs par un autre". We have seen precisely this superiority and inferiority in the paradox of the nursery, where the girl, on account of her sex, is unnecessarily limited as to various activities and frequently only acquiesces after a struggle, while at the same time receiving equally unnecessary privileges and allowances, and we may thus see it to be an artificial product.

In connection with sex equality, points of great interest arise which there is no occasion for me to go into fully here. But there is one which I should like to mention, for it may be of much importance. If the Vaertings are

<sup>\*</sup>Alfred Lord Tennyson, The Princess. †Ernest Legouvé, Histoire morale des femmes, 1849.

proved to be right in their theory, a regular but extremely slow pendulum movement can be observed over long periods of time which reverses the position of the dominant sex so that it becomes the subordinate sex.

They say\*: "The present authors' researches seem to justify the conclusion that the relationship of power between the sexes is undulatory, or that it resembles the swing of the pendulum. Automatically, masculine dominance is replaced by feminine, and feminine by masculine. In the swing from the prevalence of one form of sexual dominance to the other the pendulum necessarily traverses the stage in which there is a balance of power between the sexes. This is the phase of equal rights.

"The movement, however, does not seem to be a simple oscillation. We do not find that the power of one of the sexes continuously increases. The main swing of the pendulum is complicated by minor oscillations. The subordinate sex experiences from time to time reverses in its march to power, these reverses being followed by fresh advances which bring it a stage nearer to its goal. The dominant sex, on the other hand, the one whose power is declining, will win occasional victories even during that decline, and such a victory may be so extensive that the power of the heretofore dominant sex seems thoroughly re-established. Nevertheless, these victories during the phase of declining power are never more than apparent; they are Pyrrhic victories, inevitably followed by a further and more serious forfeiture of power. The highest point of the movement of the pendulum is that at which the reversal of the movement begins. After the dominance of one of the sexes has been pushed to the pitch of absolutism, and when power has reached a climax, the descent into the valley of equal rights begins."

<sup>\*</sup>The Dominant Sex.

If this be true, however, the knowledge that we have gained may prevent the movement from going too far in either direction, and in this case the knowledge of pyschology which is now being gained ought to be of the greatest assistance in maintaining equality when that stage has been reached.

The cause of the overthrow of the dominance of the one sex by the other, as surmised by the Vaertings, is also of considerable interest. They hold that "The main cause of the overthrow is the abuse of power. Hegemony degenerates into absolutism, and thus gives itself its own deathblow. By abusing its power the dominant sex evokes the forces that will put an end to its dominance. Power always tends to outreach itself in this way. As Plato says, 'Rarely do we find in one who possesses unrestricted power the greatness of mind which will enable him to refrain from using it to the full.' Individual wielders of power may, by a wise self-denying ordinance, refrain from using their power to the full. But where we have to do with mass domination, as when one sex rules the other sex, or one class rules another class, such a selfdenying ordinance is no longer within the domain of psychological possibilities. In the case of mass power. the tendency to abuse power will sooner or later come into operation, and the abuse of power will destroy the foundation upon which power is upbuilt. This is why the history of the human race is strewn with the wreckage of overthrown empires.

"Another reason why abuse of power is so apt to occur in mass domination is that such domination is responsible to no one. Plato recognized how responsibility exercises a controlling influence upon those who wield power. He wrote: 'No mortal is fit to exercise irresponsible power over his fellows.' Those who wield mass dominion become the slaves of their own power.

This tragedy always recurs when one sex rules the other. Hence, under the dominance of men, men too are subject to the mass dominion of their own sex. Power becomes stronger than those who wield it, and brings even them under its sway. The subordinates are oppressed, not by any deliberate intention on the part of the dominants, but owing to the natural tendency of irresponsible power to increase itself to the utmost. That is why abuse of power always occurs in mono-sexual dominance, and it is this abuse of power which puts a term to power."

Herein lies a further suggestion, not only with reference to the dominance of sex, but to the dominance of caste. It appears quite possible that as long as in any of our domains, whether social or directly sexual, sex dominance remains, there is a tendency to displace primitive desires for power from one sphere to another; that is to say, very possibly from sex dominance to caste dominance, and from this to the dominance of nations, and thus as long as there is any sex dominance such a thing as world peace may be psychologically impossible. That is to say, whatever institutions are developed to maintain peace, they may very likely be futile, so long as psychological factors of the transfer of ideas of dominance are not taken into consideration. So that it appears possible that the distant prospects of world peace may be ultimately dependent on the attainment of sex-equality.

It is sometimes said that peace will only be brought about by the actual dominance of woman, and that it will only come to pass when they have a controlling influence on the world of to-morrow. But this views history and people from the male standpoint, and thus tends to identify characteristics of the subordinate sex with feminine characteristics. Benjamin Kidd\* in a chapter on "The Mind of Woman", again describes, like

<sup>\*</sup> Benjamin Kidd, The Science of Power.

so many other writers, not the mind of woman, but what probably represents very largely the mind of the subordinate sex. He thinks that women make for peace. History shows that when they were dominant equally with the men, they were equally warlike, and even in modern times that the most bloodthirsty of revolutionists have frequently been women. In modern Russia this has been the case. In France the women bore the bloody heads of the aristocrats through the streets on the ends of pikes. The probability is that an era of peace will only be reached with an era of sex equality, and that with the dominance of either sex a war-like trend becomes a necessity to that sex as part of the preservation of its dominance.

## §3

It has become obvious during the early part of this work that one of the great psychological factors which requires alteration is this narcissistic desire to feel powerful, or perfect, as the case may be, quite apart from the actual existence of that state. As we pointed out much earlier in the book, there is a great tendency amongst people at present to "seem, rather than to be". And this idea of "seeming" is merely a desire to feel something which we actually are not, and it develops in the adult from persistence of the infantile method of satisfying desires, viz. by fantasy thinking. The infant who cannot possess something in reality contents himself normally with seeming to possess it. And it is of the utmost necessity, therefore, that the early education of children should lead them towards an interest of an active nature, a "doing" of something rather than a dreaming that something is being done. The imagination of the child does not need cultivating as so many people think; it needs training to deal with life directively. The infant has too little means of distinguishing between that which is real and that which is unreal, and it is in this early stage that the environment must be properly adjusted.

Let us consider here the influence of this factor of environment which has sometimes been summed up in the phrase "social heredity".

After Darwin had propounded his theory of evolution and heredity, people were inclined to satisfy their ignorance on any point by means of the simple explanation of heredity, whether the problem were physical or psychological. The alcoholic was explained away by the simple means of pointing to the alcoholic grandfather or father. The neurotic woman was equally a victim of changes which had taken place in the protoplasm of her ancestors. Instincts were explained on the same supposition. No distinction was made between fundamental instincts and subsidiary ones. It was assumed also that all kinds of characteristics (including masculine and feminine ones) of a psychological nature were due to heredity. Darwin himself was so imbued with this idea that when he discovered "voung chickens have lost that fear of the dog and cat which undoubtedly was originally instinctive in them " he at once attributed it to " inherited change of mental habit ".\*

Let us take this example of the instinct of fear. Experiments have shown that this does not seem to be explained on the ground of heredity. Dr Chalmers Mitchell found that this so-called inherited instinct of fear does not appear to be present in any young animals. He carried out experiments with young animals and snakes, since the snake was supposed to be the most terror-inspiring of all animals. He states that every one of the species experimented on showed "no special dread of snakes, nor the

<sup>\*</sup>Darwin, C., The Origin of Species.

slightest instinctive fear or foreknowledge of their approaching doom.\* Of further experiments he states. "Nearly every kind of mammal that we tried was indifferent to snakes. Guinea-pigs and rats would run over them; a hyrax, which is both intelligent and which. from living in trees and on rocks, must often encounter snakes, was hardly even interested . . . Small carnivora—dogs, foxes and wolves—sheep, antelope and deer, zebras and donkeys—were either quite indifferent or came up to the bars and sniffed ", and, on finding the snake was not something to eat, " moved away with an air of wearied disgust". He also states that frogs, which are the natural food of snakes in this country, showed no fear, nor did most monkeys. A certain amount of fear was shown by the higher monkeys and by one or two of the more intelligent birds. But this Dr Chalmers Mitchell considers not to be so much a case of inherited fear as an intellectual fear caused by the unusual appearance and movement of the snake which the more highly developed brain appreciated but could not understand. Other experiments carried out by Benjamin Kidd are also most conclusive. He states: experimented with a number of wild species of British birds and mammals. In none of them did I find any trace in the young of an inborn, instinctive fear of the natural enemies which were regarded with fear and terror by the adult of the species. Young wild hares and young wild rabbits showed no inborn fear of either dogs or cats. Young wild rabbits and young wild hares became as friendly and playful from the beginning with specially trained cats to which they were introduced as if they had been all of the same species. Young rabbits, showing no inborn fear of dogs, would frisk and play with the hereditary enemy of their kind, by whom their species had

<sup>\*</sup>Mitchell, C., The Childhood of Animals.

been hunted for tens of thousands of generations. The young of our common wild birds showed no inborn fear of the cat when, fully fledged, they were under proper conditions introduced to it for the first time. Nor did they develop any fear afterwards. And so also when they were introduced under similar conditions to birds of prey like the hawk or the carrion crow trained to friendly relations.

"If it be asked now whence comes the universal and ineradicable fear of natural enemies, which is present under natural conditions in the whole of the adult membersof the species in these cases, the answer is of great interest. The conclusion which I arrived at was that in the numerous typical wild species experimented upon the whole of this powerful influence, representing a most dominant and ineradicable habit of animal nature, was entirely the result of social heredity imposed on the young of each generation by training and example and nearly always under conditions of strong emotion . . . The record of a single example will exhibit the meaning that was found to be inherent in a great number of experiments. I came on a nest of the wild duck in a marsh as the young birds had just emerged from the eggs. The mother duck flew off and disappeared in the sedge, flapping a wing to which she pretended injury. I stood by the nest for some hours and watched the young birds. The greater number were already active and displaying an interest in their surroundings. They began to try to get out of the nest, and I took them one by one in my hand and placed them in the water, where in the stillness that reigned they splashed and twittered and enjoyed themselves. They showed not the slightest fear of me, nestling from time to time on my feet, and turning intelligent eyes upwards to look at me, evidently quite ready to accept me in the fullest confidence as their guardian.

"The wild duck had been in these marshes for untold ages. She had been here even in the days when the woolly rhinocerous left its remains with those of the cavemen in the adjacent hills. During all this time her kind had been one of the most universally hunted among wild creatures. The spent cartridges of the modern sportsmen strewed the bog around, yet here were her offspring just entering on the world and showing no sign of any kind of inborn fear of this the hereditary enemy of the species.

"After a time I moved away some distance to watch what would happen. The mother bird returned and alighted near by. The little ducks rushed towards her as she called. I could observe her. She was chattering with emotion. Every feather was quivering with excitement. The Great Terror of Man was upon her. After a short interval I advanced towards the group again. The mother bird flew away with a series of loud warning quacks. The little ones scattered to cover, flapping their short wing stumps, and with beaks wide open cheeping in terror. With difficulty I found one of them again in hiding. It was now a wild, transformed creature, trembling in panic which could not be subdued.

"It is in this way, and under conditions of the strongest emotion, that the accumulated experience of tens of thousands of generations of the species is imposed on young birds. Once having received it, within a few days, even within a few hours, they pass into another world,

from which they can never be reclaimed ".

No instance could suggest more strongly than this the significance of the environment, in conveying psychic characteristics.

"As the experiments were extended it was found, also in the face of generally accepted ideas, that in many cases deep-seated habits of species, extending even to such fundamental matters as the nature of their food and the usual manner of living, were not matters of inborn heredity, but were acquired as part of the social inheritance which the adults of the species imposed by example and training on the young of each generation. Once acquired, the habits were as fixed and unchangable as those which are the result of inborn heredity. But it was found that a different habit, proving equally unchangable once acquired, could be imposed in the beginning in the same way.

"It has been already pointed out that the distinctive characteristic of social heredity, as contrasted with inborn heredity, is that the elements of social heredity can be completely changed and different elements imposed in a short time. It became evident in these experiments that, if control could be obtained of the social heredity of a species, many of its apparently ingrained and fixed habits could be entirely changed in a single generation.

"The case of a wild species of New Zealand parrot, which, although previously vegetarian, acquired after the introduction of European sheep the habit of feeding on the kidney fat of these animals, causing the death of the sheep which it attacked, is often quoted as an extraordinary example in nature of a sudden change in the fundamental habit of life in a wild species. But there can be no doubt that sudden changes equally deep-seated in the habits of a whole species could be effected at will by obtaining control of its social heredity.

"Many of the experiments gave the strongest indications in this direction. There is no more established vegetarian British bird than our common wood pigeon. In one of my experiments with the young of this species a young bird was brought up with a carrion crow and a hawk, which were fed on raw meat. The young pigeon by example was led to feed on the same food, and throve

on the exclusively meat diet. So fixed did the habit thus acquired by social heredity become, that when the adult pigeon at a later stage was offered the grains which formed the natural diet of its species it did not recognize them as food.

"The common wild-hare never makes a burrow in its natural state. But when a young wild-hare was brought up with rabbits which did not show it the hostility which is usual between the species, the young hare acquired from its companions the habit of burrowing, and would cast the earth excavated with forepaws backwards between its hind legs exactly in the manner of a rabbit.

"When there was any physiological insufficiency in the organs of an animal to prevent it from acquiring or maintaining the habit usually imposed by social heredity results of this kind did not follow. It was found for instance that a diet of grains could not be imposed by any effect of example on meat-eating birds. But the striking fact which has to be emphasized is that, where no natural physiological insufficiency existed, the most unexpected habits could easily be imposed on young animals by example and training. And further, the habits so imposed were found to be transmitted again to the next generation through ordinary social heredity".

After realizing by means of these examples how important are the first few days in the life of the animal in receiving the essential characteristics which are to guide it for the rest of its life, may we not estimate by comparison the importance of the similar events that take place with every human baby, and, moreover, understand that the first few hours and months and years of the baby's life, which we sometimes regard as the least important in its training, are in reality of such vital importance that we who have studied the psychology of this can say definitely that the essential characteristics of the

child have been formed by the age of five years. The careless behaviour of parents in front of infants, the careless actions of nurse or servant or stranger, are of the gravest import for the future of that child. The horror with which we view Nero fiddling while Rome is burning is as nothing to the horror with which we ought to view the careless thought which some educators give to children in the first two years of their lives.

It will be observed how the first few months and earliest years of the baby's life are thus sufficient to give it by suggestion, i.e., social heredity, those characteristics which we may term the *artificial* "masculine" and "feminine" ones.

But one great hope also springs from our knowledge of social heredity. It does not take thousands of years to change the habits of a bird. It has been shown to be possible to effect this in one generation by changing the environment of the fledgling; and while we cannot expect to make changes in the world of human beings at that rate, yet if we know the importance of early environment and some of the essential methods to pursue, very much more rapid changes in the world can be hoped for than many people are apt to think. To be appalled by the magnitude of the changes is quite unnecessary. After once a number of related sciences have been brought together into application by human intelligence, it becomes as easy to turn on a thousand-candle-power light as a sixteen candle-power one, if we know where the switch is.

The related sciences concerned in the social task are not yet co-ordinated. A power, sometimes called suggestion, is already always in action in the environment, but at the present time it is unconscious and often harmful. To control it we must first understand it, as we have done before controlling other forces of nature (if such it may be called). For practical purposes suggestion may

be regarded as the power which makes social heredity possible. The powers of the mind still work in a large number of cases blindly and unconsciously, and while this is so we are at the mercy of unconscious determinants which society cannot control because it does not know them.

A great hope for future progress lies in the very fact that psychic characteristics are not completely fixed in the species, but can be influenced within certain limits, by certain means, through the environment. Experiment only can teach what these limits are. It is not necessary to know everything before acting on such knowledge as we have; further knowledge only comes this way.

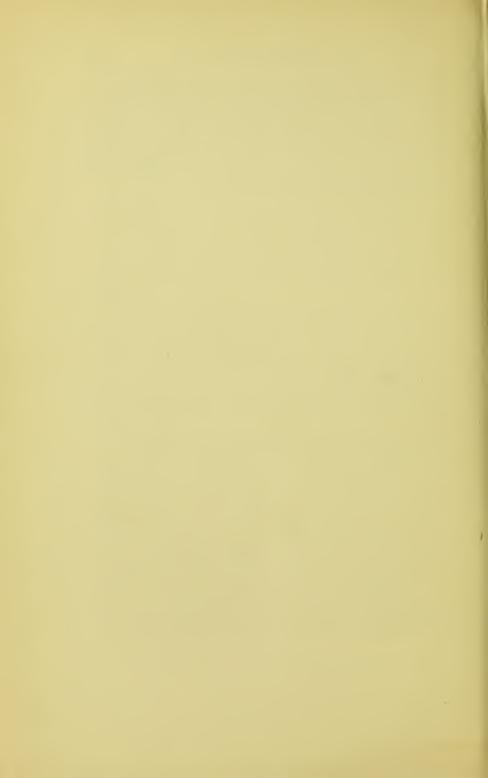
It is quite possible to make experiments in education in sex equality before full and final knowledge has been gained about the actual difference between the two sexes. Without complete knowledge as to this, certain factors can be perceived in the present method of sexual differentiation which are closely allied to conditions of physical deterioration and personal inefficiency as well as moral inconsistency.

These are not the only factors, of course, which anchor us in our present chaotic social condition, but they are prominent ones, although not usually associated with it.

It is no answer to say that there is some good even in the sexual differentiation we are used to. Granted that this be so, yet the way may be blocked by which we advance to better things, towards progress in social evolution. "When half gods go, the gods arrive". It may sometimes be necessary to surrender even what is partly good for the sake of what is better: at times there can be no worse enemy of the best than the partly good.

It is by experiment rather than by dogmatism that we should approach nearer true knowledge. Individuals fre-

quently complain of the injustice of the present state of sex inequality, but this seems to be inevitable under present conditions of thought for it is outside the power of laws to make real equality. Equality can only come from the adjustment of a large number of psychic determinants. Nature is never unjust; Nature's laws are administered with unerring justice—but without mercy.



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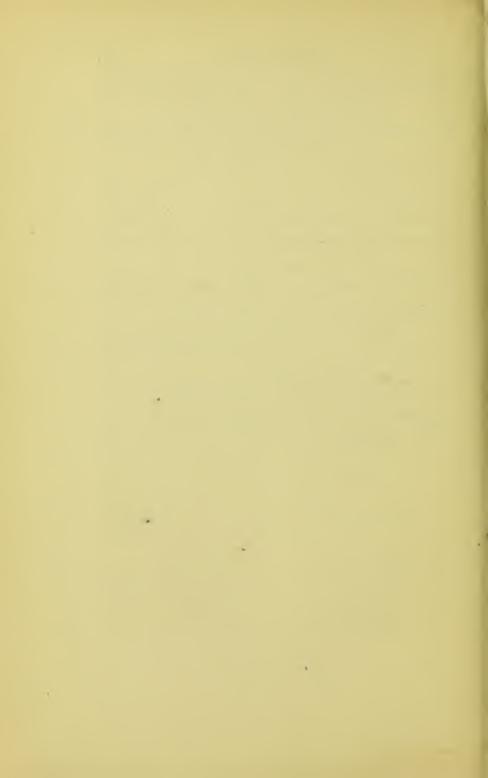
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## **APPENDIX**

THE UNCONSCIOUS IDEA OF MALE SUPERIORITY IN
THE WRITINGS OF FREUD

While admitting to the full the extraordinary value of Freud's pioneer work, one cannot help noticing, from time to time, points in that work, or in the work of his strict adherents which form the Freudian School, which do not seem to harmonize with the chief trend of the other parts of his work on the one hand, or with the normal course of evolution as found elsewhere on the other hand. Such disharmonies, if allowed to pass unchallenged, may be of the gravest import in dealing with the application of psycho-analysis to sociology, and other branches of work, for, as every logician knows, if there be a flaw in the premises, the conclusions, however ingenious, may then be diametrically opposed to the actual facts.

For the purpose of this book the question cannot be passed over altogether, and yet it is not useful to go very fully into the argument here; it concerns the psychologist more than the lay reader, and I have therefore separated this portion of the book in a short appendix.

From the teachings of Freud himself we know that the last of all complexes to be resolved and the ones which are the most difficult to penetrate are those dependent on beliefs which have never been questioned, and which are charged with the highest emotion, in support of the supremacy of the ego-ideal and reinforced by Narcissism.

I shall endeavour to show here that this is the case in what may be termed "The Complex of Male Superiority."

It has apparently a very strong relationship to the Castration Complex and appears to me to be a subterfuge by means of which the Freudian School of Analysts evade the analysed portions of that complex in themselves, and support the remnants of Narcissism which have not been completely eliminated from them.

Now, the complex which I am discussing here is one which in a male tends to make him consider the female as inferior to himself, or when he cannot do that, tends to make him consider her as different as possible from himself. And the latter is a point which does not appear to have occurred to the Freudian School. By either of these alternatives the male succeeds in preserving his own feeling of potency, and protects himself from unconscious fears of impotence. Apparently we are dealing with a derivative of the "Castration Complex," but since other complexes come in as determinants also, I have, in this instance, taken a rather broader name, and labelled it "The Complex of Male Superiority.

In a previous paper\* I pointed out that much of our etiquette and courtesy on the part of man towards woman was rooted in the Castration Complex, enacted on the one hand as a defence to male desires for superiority, and equally as a defence to female desires of superiority, and another direction. Thus, to carry a trivial parcel for a woman, or to give up a seat to her, indicated to the man his own superiority in physical strength, while to the woman it indicated superiority in the social scale. All this, no doubt, has become perfectly conscious in the minds of most analysts, but apparently, instead of the Castration Complex being freed in many of them, particularly in those belonging to the strict Freudian School,

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;The Castration Complex in Women." A paper by Paul Bousfield, read before the British Psychological Society, Oct., 1923, and published in *The Psycho-analytical Review*, April 1924.

there appears to be a strong tendency for the feeling to be displaced in a very subtle manner from ideas of superiority and inferiority to ideas of exaggerated sex differences, so that masculinity and femininity become further and further separated from one another, and investigations into the sphere of *actual* differences of sex become obscured.

We have a very good example of the way this works, if we examine the analysis of the Castration Complex in women published by Freudian writers. Great stress is laid upon the fact that so-called "masculine" traits in women, whether in their clothing, or in their occupations, or in the use of their intellect, are due to the fact that they are compensating for fears of inferiority rooted in their Castration Complex. From among many papers on this subject, one might select Abraham's.\* He has not observed the fact that so-called "femininity" is also an outcome of this complex. I showed this in the previous paper of mine which I have referred to, and pointed out how exhibitionism in hair or clothing of a "feminine" type, and other so-called feminine attributes, were due to the Castration Complex, and were compensations far more common than so-called "masculinity" in women. They are compensations which, instead of directly touching the inferiority or superiority, displace themselves on to an issue in which there might seem to be equality, but equality with difference. I showed that this was well represented in the common words, "I hate women who ape men!" Here the word "ape" indicated the fear expressed at the idea of similarity between the two, and indicated that dissimilarity was used as a defence reaction.

I need not go further into the details, as I think I have said enough to show that the tendency of the analyst has been to ignore the fact that "feminine" charcteristics are

<sup>\*</sup>Abrahams K. "The Castration Complex in Women." In The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, Jan., 1922.

produced in women by their Castration Complex, and to accentuate the fact that "masculine" attributes are produced.

There is a further tendency to assume that so-called "masculine" attributes in women can *only* be produced by a feminine Castration Complex, whereas they are more frequently produced by normal sublimation of other impulses and are therefore neither masculine nor feminine.

Of course, one error arises here through a priori assumptions as to what are masculine and feminine characteristics, based on the early environment of the analysts themselves. Freud in this connection is very much more cautious than most of his followers, for he says\*:—

"Psycho-analysis has a common basis with biology, in that it supposes an original bi-sexuality of human beings (as of animals), but psycho-analysis cannot elucidate the intrinsic nature of what in conventional phraseology is termed 'masculine' and 'feminine,' it simply takes over the two concepts and makes them the foundation of its work. When we attempt to reduce them further, we find masculinity vanishing into activity, and femininity into passivity, and that does not tell us enough."

And yet, as we shall show elsewhere, Freud unconsciously selects certain attributes as masculine and femi-

nine without, I believe, sufficient justification.

My thesis, then, is that the Freudian School deny the sexuality of women in common with men, and relegate female sexuality to an infantile form. They castrate her at puberty, by denying adult sexual feelings in the clitoris, and substitute infantile forms of sex, which are the results of repression. That such a form of sex is not uncommon in women I do not deny, but the especial question we have to consider is whether it is *normal* or *abnormal*. According

<sup>\*</sup>Freud, S. in the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, p. 148, 1920 (A case of Female Homo-sexuality.)

to these writers, this condition should be considered normal, whereas I am of the opinion, and I think I shall be able to show, that it is more probably an abnormal and regressive state of affairs.

Let me quote now one of Freud's fundamental axioms, which is taken as a basis of so many other investigators' work. He says:\* "Puberty, which brings to the boy a great advance of libido, distinguishes itself in the girl by a new wave of repression which especially concerns the clitoris sexuality. It is a part of the male sexual lifewhich sinks into repression."

He makes three assumptions here and in the parts of his work which follow immediately. Firstly, that the normal woman loses her sensitivity in the clitoris and transfers it to the vagina, and the neighbouring parts, at puberty. In the second place, it assumes a greater tendency to regression in general in the female, and "a new wave of repression" as normal in her at puberty. In the third place, it makes the assumption that clitorissexuality is "part of the male sexual life."

Let me examine each of these premises separately. In 1919, since I realised that the number of normal women coming for psycho-analysis was very small, I compiled from a large number of my medical friends and from medical students, both male and female, statistics which they collected for me from women who were, as far as they could tell, normal,—that is from their wives or in the case of women from themselves. As to their being normal, the only indication we could take was that they were not of a hysterical nature, suffered from no neuroses, and were not over-emotional. The result of this investigation, which I published,\* was as follows:—

<sup>\*</sup>Freud, S., Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex. Trans. Brill, 3rd Edition, p. 80.

\*Bousfield, P., "Elements of Practical Psycho-Analysis."

Of a 150 cases, 3 were completely anæsthetic, 14 were said to have pleasure chiefly referred to the vagina, but without an actual orgasm; and in 133 without exception the clitoris was the seat of the sensation, though about 60 of these cases also had variable vaginal and perineal and anal sensations simultaneously.

Further statistics which I have collected since that period are much of the same kind. Among my patients, that is amongst women who were certainly abnormal, a much more variable condition of affairs was found. Without labouring the point, such statistics as these show that Freud's axiom cannot be unreservedly accepted as a statement of fact.

Turning to his second assumption, that a new wave of repression is normal and that normal sexuality is thus brought about by repression, this entails our acceptance that infantile hysterical conditions are brought about by the same factors as produce normal sexuality in women,—viz., that repression.

For Freud himself says: "The main determinants for the women's preference for hysteria are in the change of the leading zone, as well as in the repression of puberty, these determinants are therefore most intimately connected with the nature of femininity." (The italics are mine P.B.).

The successive stages of repression which are thus found to accompany the supposedly normal development of the female organisation are certainly remarkable. It amounts to an admission that the female character is a product of repressions which, if they applied to the male, would be held to produce an infantile type of character, but apparently in the female they produce a normal type!

In discussing the statement that the feminine character is produced as a result of a succession of serious sexual

<sup>\*</sup>Freud S. op. cit., p. 81.

"inhibitions," and "repressions" (which are assumed to be natural to the feminine character itself), Freud says: "These sexual inhibitions occur earlier, and with less resistance, in the little girl than in the little boy."\* No reason for this is given, and it is certainly unwarrantable to assume that a tendency to sexual repression can be inherent in one sex rather than another without much more evidence.

The deduction we should be inclined to draw is that such repression is an artificial product, brought about by an artificial state of sex induced from childhood upwards in both sexes, but tending to repression in women more than in men, and tending therefore to regression to infantile states of sex, to hysterias and the like in females more than in males. Indeed, Freud's own statement, that this is the main determinant of the "woman's preference for neuroses," would lead us to suppose that the change in her sexuality was pertaining to a neurosis,—when and if it takes place.

Thirdly, there is the assumption that clitoris sexuality is male sexuality. This of course arises partly from the observed size and activity of the penis. The penis is classed as a male organ, and the clitoris by analogy is also spoken of as a male organ in a woman for anatomical descriptive purposes. This may be all very well, but when we are dealing not with its mechanical activity as an organ of reproduction, but with its nervous excitability and its psychic function as a pleasure producer we must

not make any such assumptions.

It is not permissible for us to classify a nerve ending as either male or female. The nerves which supply the sexual system are common to both, and may be regarded in much the same way as we must regard the nerves of the eyes, or ears, or the anus, or the tongue. At any rate, if

<sup>\*</sup>Freud, S. Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex, p. 78.

we do not so regard it, there is no justification at all for stating definitely that the reverse is the case.

It appears, according to the observations I have so far been able to make, that when women are not overrepressed, their sexuality is of the same nature as that of men, but that it is neither of a male nor female type of sexuality. It is centred in that common organ, the glans clitoris or glans penis and is extended to (not transferred to) the vagina, perineum and neighbouring ports with varying degrees of intensity. In those cases where much repression is found the tranfer to the vagina may prove to represent a return to the infantile erotic zones in connection with the bladder, and the rectum, which are supplied by the pudic branches of the sacral plexus, e.g. the anus, scrotum, labia majora, uretha, part of the vagina, and perineum. Developmentally, moreover, the sensory portions of the vagina come from the lower part of the Mullerian duct, and are of much older origin than the clitoris or penis, and it would be much more in keeping with our ideas of evolution if we regard displacement of sexual gratification from the glans clitoris to the vagina as pathological regression, rather than a normal procedure.

I do not wish it to be taken here in this Appendix or elsewhere in the book that vaginal sensibility is not present in normal women; indeed an extension of sensibility to the vagina in the female, and the perineum in the male appears to be common. What I wish to point out, is, that the theory I am discussing, as it is put forward by Freud and others, tends too much to deny or at least to minimise the functions of the clitoris; and I am therefore concerned rather with the importance of the latter than to deny the former, for I believe that his denial of the function of the clitoris has its psychological explanation in the complexes that I have discussed in the present work.

So far we have merely shown that, prima facie, Freud's

hypothesis is the reverse of what one would expect, but this is not enough, we must look further; firstly into the reason for his statements. Here, of course, following analytical method, we must look for a wish-fulfilment, and secondly we must see to what other conclusion these premises have carried him and his immediate followers.

In looking for the wish-fulfilment, at the root of this complex, a transparent reason is given us by Freud himself. For he states that repression of the female gives an added stimulus to the libido of the male. Thus the repression of the female corresponds to a wish-fulfilment of the male, and provides a compensation for, or defence against certain complexes in the male. Let us examine his actual words: "The further sexual inhibition of the woman (i.e. at puberty) causes a stimulus to the libido of the man, and forces it to increase its capacity, with the height of the libido there is a rise in the over-estimation of the sexual" (note the redundancy of the epithets) "which can be present in its full force only when the woman refuses and denies her sexuality."\*

The emphatic piling up of the epithets is sufficiently striking to warn us of the proximity of a complex, and this is made quite clear when we realize that woman's sexuality must be repressed, she must refuse and deny her sexuality in order to bring about "over-estimation of the sexual in the man." We ask why "over-estimation" should be needed, and the reply suggested is that in the unconscious mind there is under-estimation—the man fears impotence.

But this is not all; let us see how this idea coincides with another statement of Freud's. He says,† "If one could give a more definite content to the terms 'masculine ' and ' feminine', one might advance the opinion that the libido is regularly and lawfully masculine in nature, whether in the man or the woman," and that he does

<sup>\*</sup>Freud, S. op. cit., p. 80. †Freud, S. op. cit., p. 79

consider it masculine in nature is shown by the two following quotations taken in conjunction with one another.

"Psycho-analysis cannot elucidate the intrinsic nature of what in conventional phraseology is termed 'masculine' and 'feminine,' . . . . when we attempt to reduce them further, we find masculinity vanishing into activity,

and femininity into passivity."

And again: "One uses masculine and feminine at times in the sense of activity and passivity, again in the biological sense, and then also in the sociological sense. The first of these three meanings is the essential one and the only one that can be admitted in psycho-analysis. It agrees with the masculine description of the libido in the text above, for the libido is always active, even when directed to a passive aim."

These quotations are enough. Two things stand out definitely, masculine and feminine are to be regarded as active and passive, and the libido is always active and masculine. Moreover, Freud states that it is "regularly and lawfully masculine." Again, here we notice the epithets. "Lawfully" is a very curious word to use; it indicates a desire to uphold his claim by means of authority, and would almost seem to suggest a prejudice or even a grudge against women. But apart from this consideration of the language used there is the material conveyed in it which is of much more importance. The libido is always masculine, it is active even when directed to a passive aim, and the woman must renounce all masculinity or activity in order to produce an over-estimation of sexuality in the male!

It really appears as if this over-estimation were a real necessity to Freud, and it may be that his tendency to over-estimate the importance of the sexual life in general belongs to this same complex and permeates the whole of his writings,—for we find it cropping up elsewhere,—a

great tendency to ignore the female and relegate her to a

position of nothingness and obscurity.

For instance,\*—" In the man alone the sexual life is accessible to investigation, whereas in the woman it is veiled in impenetrable darkness; partly in consequence of cultural stunting and partly on account of the conventional reticence and dishonesty of women."

It seems probable that the "impenetrable darkness" may be as much wish-fulfilment as the "repression of the female" and the "lawfully masculine libido," and the "over-estimation of sexuality in the male."

But we shall be able to see what this curious attitude towards women means if we examine the Freudian outlook from a slightly different point of view. We shall see that, in spite of his assertions of bi-sexuality in men and women, his tendency is to do away with bi-sexuality in the *woman* as she approaches puberty and to treat bi-sexuality itself—like the libido,—as always masculine.

His statement of bi-sexuality is contained in the following quotations, and his method of describing it in children needs to be carefully noted, for, as has already been pointed out, it has greatly influenced psychological thought upon this subject, as well as possibly Freud's own theory of differentiation.

He says: "The auto-erotic activity of the erogenous zones is the same in both sexes, and it is this agreement which removes the possibility of sex differentiation in childhood, as it appears after puberty. In respect of the auto-erotic, and masturbatory manifestations, it may be asserted that the sexuality of the little girl has an entirely male character."\*

This assertion of bi-sexuality in infancy is equally carried into adult life, for he continues:—

<sup>\*</sup>Freud, S. Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex, p. 16. †Freud, S. op. cit., p. 79.

"Since becoming acquainted with the aspect of bisexuality, I hold this fact as decisive, and I believe that, without taking into consideration the factor of bi-sexuality, it will hardly be possible to understand the actually observed manifestations in men and women." We have already cleared up his understanding of bi-sexuality to some extent, by noticing that he uses the terms masculine and feminine as meaning active and passive.

But let us observe the curious conclusion to which we must come.

Bi-sexuality in childhood is observed, but in the little boy receives no particular comment, whereas in the little girl the masculine aspect of it appears to be emphasised. In the adult, again, bi-sexuality of the male passes without comment, but in the female the feminine aspect is stressed. As a child the female possesses more of the one aspect of bi-sexuality; as an adult she has very much more, relatively, of the other, for, as Freud puts it, in the last stages of the infantile sexual life, "maleness has come to life, but no femaleness," and he tells us that not until the completion of development, at puberty," does the polarity of sexuality coincide with male and female," and this he elucidates for us elsewhere by the very significant statement that: "In maleness is concentrated subject, activity and possession of a penis. Femaleness carries on object and passivity."\* But since the libido is always active, what has happened to this active part of the woman? Freud does not tell us.

"In maleness is concentrated subject," says he. Let us examine the meaning of the word "subject." It signifies "the active and immediate sentient and thinking faculty which forms conceptions or ideas of the object,—the ego, as opposed to the non-ego." Femaleness does

<sup>\*</sup>Freud, S., "Infantile Genital Organization of the Libido," International Journal, April, 1924. p 129.

not possess subjectivity and the sexual activity of the normal woman should apparently have entirely ceased at puberty except in passive forms!

It would almost seem that the bi-sexuality which was a normal feature in the infantile sexual life disappears entirely from the normal woman in adult life. Yet Freud himself contradicts this, for he says: "In man there is no pure masculinity of femininity, either in the biological or psychological sense; on the contrary, every individual person shows a mixture of his own biological sex characteristics with the biological traits of the other sex and a union of activity and passivity."\* The apparent contradiction lies, of course, in the fact that Freud tends to treat bi-sexuality as well as libido as being of a male nature, and while his observations confront him with the bi-sexual order of things, his masculine interpretation of bi-sexuality and of libido prevents his application of that knowledge. This is only another form of over-estimation of sexuality in the male.

The fact is that a full acceptance by the unconscious mind of the idea of bi-sexuality is difficult at present, because it is inconsistent with various ideas about woman which are widely held, such as the belief in differences which are commonly supposed to exist between masculine and feminine nature. These ideas are supported by much actual observed inequality in mental and general activity between men and women, and these ideas, like all ideas, have their psychological roots. Psychic bi-sexuality of all individuals of both sexes is a principle of psychology which must disturb and modify several very common assumptions about women, and hence a good deal of "resistance" is to be expected towards the recognition of some of the results of accepting the idea of bi-sexuality,

<sup>\*</sup>Freud, S. Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex., p. 79.

and a tendency to relate it to other ideas with which it is really inconsistent.

This, quite apart from any complex which Freud himself may have on this matter,—the allocation of maleness to the woman's childish sexuality, and of masculine nature to the libido—at once promulgates a tendency to assume unconsciously, owing to the associations which these terms have in our minds at the present time (and to our sense of their difference), that what is designated masculine cannot be feminine, and that what is male is therefore not female, and this assumption probably has something to do with the further assumption that in order to become a woman the little girl resigns at puberty part of her "male infantile sexuality," which otherwise would seem to be part of her actual adult sexuality.

After considering all these points we are led to wonder whether the libido really could be designated masculine or feminine in any circumstances. That we may designate it as active, since, in a sense, all energy is active, whether potential or kinetic, may be quite correct, but in this case we shall certainly be unable to say that all things active are male and all things passive are female.

If we go back to the earliest possible manifestations, of libido, we must admit that they probably have very early beginnings in the uni-cellular animal, and that as such the libido is in itself a-sexual, and it may be that we shall have to come to the conclusion ultimately that the libido is always a-sexual and that it only becomes sexual because it flows through sexual channels. Moreover, that it is sometimes passive when it is directed through sexual channels will probably be found to be quite erroneous, because we cannot merely take observed physical activity and assume that the flow of energy is commensurate with this. One might illustrate this roughly by considering a magnet, and a small piece of iron. We are

accustomed, if we do not know better, to think that the magnet attracts the piece of iron, and we state that the piece of iron moves towards the magnet. As a matter of fact, the piece of iron and the magnet are mutually attractive, and the only reason that the magnet does not move is on account of its mass, and the co-efficient of friction between the magnet and the surface on which it rests. There is a tendency to movement on the part of the magnet. and, were the outwardly imposed forces removed, the magnet itself would travel towards the iron. tance of its movement as compared with that of the small piece of iron would be inversely proportional to the ratio of their masses, and the potential energy transformed into kinetic energy would in both cases be the same, and could not possibly be measured per se by the amplitude of movement which had been observed.

Thus the libido, which Freud designates as "sexual hunger," may ultimately have to be referred to as a-sexual and again we may suggest the significance of the fact that he has laid strees upon it as sexual, may be due to the fact that he is over-emphasising the sexual, on account of the necessity which he feels for "over-estimation." ("Over-estimation of the sexual in the male.")

There is one point, however, that may be noted, and that is that Freud apparently does not see that in thus attempting to secure and preserve for himself, by castrating the woman "the full force" of the "over-estimation of sexuality," he loses the reinforcement that his libido would gain by the recognition of her's, and in conjunction with it.

## § 2

It would seem well to point out that one or two of Professor Freud's statements appear to be contradictory to one another, even without more detailed analysis, and this in itself shows a certain confusion of thought. Thus in "The Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex," we read: "To be sure, the male and female dispositions are early recognizable, even in infantile life, thus the displacement of sexual inhibitions (shame, modesty, loathing, etc.) ensues earlier and with less resistance in the little girl than in the little boy."\* Whereas, in his "Infantile Genital Organization of the Libido."† we read: "At the level of pre-genital sadistic-anal organisation nothing is heard of any maleness or femaleness. The dominant antithesis is that between active and passive."

On the one hand he tells us that "male and female dispositions" are "easily recognizable in infantile life," on the other hand that "nothing is heard of any maleness or femaleness". There are other phrases which are more or less diametrically opposed to one another,

but this one will serve our purpose.

Were it possible it would be interesting for us to examine at first hand Freud's childhood, in order to see whence comes this complex of male dominance. Though we cannot do this, we can get some suggestive material through those who have known him intimately and who have studied his work in a critical spirit, and we may quote with advantage one or two items from "Sigmund Freud," by Fritz Wittels.

He shows us that Freud had in early childhood a strong sense of inferiority; in fact, he tells us on page 21‡: "In Austria he had never been able to escape the sense of inferiority which early affected him, as it does all Jews in German-speaking lands, and especially those who move in intellectual circles."

We know that emotions such as these,—this sense of

<sup>\*</sup>Op. cit., Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex, p.78. †International Journal of Psycho-analysis. April 1924, p. 129. ‡Fritz Wittels, Sigmund Freud, Trans E. and C. Paul.

inferiority itself representing a strong Castration Complex,—are frequently compensated for by strong desires of dominance and ambitions for power. Wittels shows us throughout that this ambition for power has always been one of Freud's great characteristics. He tells us\* (p. 19): "He has always been of a combative disposition, as shown in his bickerings with the nephew who was his senior, and by numerous other incidents down to our own day."

And he tells us an incident concerning Freud which led to a dream which may be highly illuminating. He states (p. 15): "We have excellent reasons for assuming that Freud had a good conceit of himself, and an ardent longing to give practical proof that his favourable opinion was deserved. An old peasant woman had told his mother that she was about to give birth to a great man. Subsequently, in Vienna, an itinerant fortune-teller informed Sigmund's parents that the boy was destined to become a minister of State—an incredible prospect in the Austria of those days, for anyone who was not of noble birth. Such prophecies are common enough. The remarkable feature in the case is that, forty years later. Freud should have dreamed of the childish trifle. This indicates that the lad's ambition had been something quite out of the common.

"When the little boy was three years old, the family removed to Leipzig. A year later the Freuds settled in Vienna. . . . For a long time the Freuds lived in Kaiser Josef Strasse, now renamed Heine Strasse. Freud tells us that the name Josef has always played a great part in his dreams, his view being that in dreams of emperors and kings these potentates symbolize the father. On the other hand, Stekel, Freud's most distinguished pupil, considers that in such dreams there is condensed with the signification of the father an ideal of power and splendour.

<sup>\*</sup>Fritz Wittels, op. cit.

Since 1848, Josef II has been regarded by the liberal bourgeoisie as the finest flower of the Hapsburg dynasty, as an exemplar of wisdom, benevolence, progress, and devotion to duty. In reality, this emperor was a despot who paid lip-service to the ideals of the French enlightenment. His progressiveness was an ill-digested Voltairism; his benevolence was capricious; his wisdom was a fable. We may, however, admit that he was devoted to what he believed to be his duty. In 1848 his statue was decorated by hanging the flag of liberty to one of the arms. His notion of freedom was embodied in the maxim: Everything for the people, nothing by the people.

"Long residence, during the impressionable years of boyhood, in a street whose name carries such associations cannot fail to have an influence! Freud has become an emperor, one around whom legends begin to accrete, who holds enlightened but absolute sway in his realm, and is animated by a rigid sense of duty. He has become a despot who will not tolerate the slightest deviation from his doctrine: holds by a sort of pragmatic sanction that the body of psycho-analytic teaching shall remain an

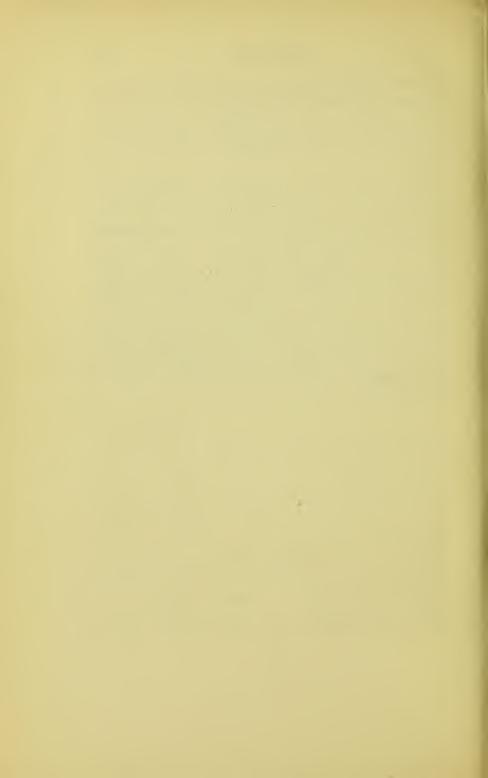
indivisible whole."

Yet one more quotation. "Young Freud had friends enough and had enjoyed a fair measure of success. But this measure did not satisfy him, for he had the feeling of those who believe they carry a field-marshal's baton in their knapsack. If we would know the young man's opinion of himself, we may read it in the motto he 'half-jokingly' designed to use as the title of a chapter on 'Theraputics': Flavit et dissipati sunt. What are scattered? Presumably the neuroses; but we might think of rival investigators! The phrase is from the medal that was struck in England to commemorate the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and in full it runs: Flavit Jehovah et dissipati sunt. In the reproduction of the

motto Freud has suppressed the word Jehovah, but he cherishes it all the more in his heart."

We may see from this suppression of the word "Jehovah" the suppression of the father, and of all authority,—a strong indication of his own desire to take the place of Jehovah.

Thus we see that the very complex which has served Freud as an urge to his work, and which has enabled him to carry out his stupendous and magnificent task, is at the same time responsible for his errors in estimating the relative values of sex differences—and it could scarcely have been otherwise. And with such a complex it no longer seems remarkable that Dr. Freud and those other analysts apparently believe that the sexual condition revealed in the cases of their patients is normal. It seems no longer extraordinary that they should actually come to speak of repression as though it was actually part of femininity, and of libido as being "regularly and lawfully masculine", and of bi-sexuality itself as though it were masculine.



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